

CHIROPRACTIC: On trial • BANK MERGERS: The battle begins

# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

SEPTEMBER 21, 1998

# STARR CROSSED

## THE REPORT

'A strategy  
of deceiving  
the American  
people'

## THE AFFAIR

'I knew it  
was wrong'

By Andrew Phillips

\$3.95





# From The Editor

## Why Clinton should resign

**I**t is not just about sex. It is about a lack of character. It is about abusing power. It is about lying in court. Last week, William Jefferson Clinton, the 42nd president of the United States of America, was revealed for what he is, after much a creep. His legacy is forever tarnished by his former investigation of the Oval Office with a young intern and his desperate attempts to cover it up. His accusers report that independent counsel Kenneth Starr, lacking any real evidence of wrongdoing, was not so cumbersome Clinton about what the White House demanded of a "private sexual relationship." But Clinton asked for that when he lied in court about his relationship.

There, as has already begun to unravel, he presided over the most names details of the coverup, just as Richard Nixon did after the Watergate breakin. For Clinton, the alarm bells went off on January 17, 1998, during his deposition before Judge Susan Webber Wright in the Paula Jones sex harassment case. At the session, he was asked about his relations with other former employees. He said he could not recall being alone with Lewinsky and vaguely denied having sexual relations with her. The next day—a Sunday—Clinton called Betty Currie, his secretary, to the White House for a late afternoon meeting to discuss his deposition. "There are several things you may want to know," he told Currie, in defense of Wright's admissions that witnesses were "not to say anything whatsoever about the questions they were asked." Clinton proceeded to reiterate lies with Currie: "You were always there when we was there, right? Monica came on to me, and I never touched her, right? You can set me hear everything, right?"



Monica Lewinsky covering up their affair



On Saturday in December, 1997, after Clinton learned of the potential witnesses—including Lewinsky—in the Jones case, Lewinsky came to the White House to deliver a letter ("goodbye" letter) to Clinton, who had ended their relationship. (Ironically, Clinton had a visitor, Monica, cooking her beans at the Northwest Gate.) During a conversation with one officer, Lewinsky learned that the person meeting with Clinton was the sharp-tongued television personality Elizabeth Mericle. Lewinsky stormed away and called Betty Currie from a pay phone as a last. Currie then showed up at the guardhouse, informing the Secret Service that Clinton was "late" about the identification of his guest, adding, "some one could be fired." Later, the guards were informed that no one would be dismissed—so long as they did not talk about the incident. In an extremely sober meeting, Clinton told the guard commander: "I hope you use your discretion." The officer arrived, telling him men: "Whatever just happened didn't happen."

That was a first night out of Clinton's play book. He cheated on his wife when she was out of town, then lied about it to her and members of his cabinet as they defended his policies against allegations of sexual impropriety. He forced on his corps, lawyer Vernon Jordan, to find Lewinsky a job at BellSouth Inc., even while he coached her on her upcoming testimony Clinton fingered Heribert Hoerner's words: "The presidency is more than an executive responsibility. It is the inspiring symbol of all that is highest in American purpose and ideals." He should resign.

Robert Lewis

## Newsroom Notes:

### Sleaze in high places

Probably no report in history has ever had as much impact as quickly as independent counsel Kenneth Starr's 445-page indictment of Bill Clinton's coverup of his affair with Monica Lewinsky. Thanks to the World Wide Web, the kind details of the President's sexual misconduct—and the grounds for impeachment—as defined by

Starr—were made instantly available around the world. Washington Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips assessed the reaction on Capitol Hill and at the White House last week. "Nothing has been so generally ex-

pected this year as Starr's report. But when it was suddenly delivered to the Hill late on Wednesday afternoon, it took everyone by surprise," Phillips says. "It was clear that neither Congress nor Clinton's people were ready for it." And when the report was released on Friday, everyone scrambled to find it on the Internet. "The story has swamped everything else in Washington since January, but when the details were all put together they still had the power to shock." Phillips wrote the main cover story (page 38). The cover package was edited by Art Director Nick Bennett



Phillips (left) Phillips' surprise and shock

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Foothills Academy in Calgary, different techniques

## Learning to read

A year ago my story "Why kids can't read" (Aug. 21) pointed out the dyslexic brain is "wired differently." This makes it difficult for the dyslexic to master skills like reading, writing and calculation. But this different brain is superior to the non-dyslexic brain in other ways. The problem is, that in order to use these great brains, the dyslexic must first learn these basic skills—a task that most will not accomplish without special help.

Sister Barbara  
Calgary

The fact is that most school-age kids can read and do read (though not as easily as one would wish). As far as those who can't read, over 20 years of experience in a literacy educator context tell me that for most such children the problem is more so cultural than neurological. Some children go to school having been immersed in print and the language of books and story from birth while for others books and print are totally foreign and unknown. It's not hard to predict which children are likely to be reading casualties. Does this mean that there are no children whose difficulty in learning to read has a neurological basis? No, but I suspect their number is far smaller than the learning disabilities establishment would have us believe.

Sister Barbara  
Calgary

You report that, at last, after decades of trying to prove that learning difficulties exist, a researcher has demonstrated that "the reading path in the dyslexic brain is dramatically different than that of a normal reader." It seems that dyslexics rely too much on the visual and memory areas of their brains. This is proof of a biological basis for dyslexia? All I really see is that poor readers don't take advantage of the sound-based nature of written language. If the poor reader had ever been taught how to sound out words, their brains would operate the same way as normal readers' brains. Literally thousands

## Reading and genes

The description of dyslexia as a genetic disorder is very troubling. We in a speech have only determined a general population requirement to be able to read in the last 100 years. It is thus interesting to note that a culture element is now being turned into a genetic disorder. Two issues need to be addressed. Assuming the differences in brain activity that the research demonstrates have come about as part of our evolutionary heritage, then the first question is are there advantages to having brain activity in the nervous correlated with a diagnosis of dyslexia? The second question focuses on the issue of teaching techniques. Is a homogeneous education technique that people will have different learning styles and that at times will require different educational techniques. Is this not a global statement that would encompass the need for specialized teaching techniques, at least, for children with dyslexia? Such children then simply become one of many children, all with varying learning characteristics. Following up on these issues is one that is not addressed in the article. If the example programs are successful at teaching children diagnosed with dyslexia, then do the children's brain patterns then start to mimic the brain patterns of children with no reading problem? If so, the first question becomes a very important societal issue regarding the conservation of cognitive diversity. If the children's brain activity does not become synonomous with that of able readers, then what is the brain-waging research telling us regarding dyslexia?

Dr. Douglas Lee,  
North Vancouver

## THE MAIL

### When 'right' matters

As a pharmacist working with student pharmacists because of the college license, how to help those who have learned in their school careers that the "one right answer" doesn't matter ("The new norms," Education, Aug. 17) in the calculation of a patient's dose of medication, the right answer is often wrong. Calculating the wrong dose may have very serious consequences. Some young people may want to become doctors, pharmacists, pharmacy technicians or even engineers where right answers matter. I imagine that some other fields like engineers or business may also have high school graduates who care about the right answer and have little enthusiasm. We see not helping students when we let them believe that creativity without basic skills will lead to successful lives.

Lynn Johnson  
Poet/Poetry

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## THE MAIL

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*Harry P. Schindler  
Toronto*

## Canadian cuisine

As a chef partner, I am pleased that our *Accordéon* magazine has profiled Canadian cuisine and Canadian chefs ("Chatelaine," Cover, May 30). For too long, our professors and our cooking have been too pretentious for you to eat out, until Canadians will realize the importance that food is, except only if it's from France, Italy or California. You could have mentioned that Canadian cuisine has been world renowned, in 1984 and 1992, at the international Culinary Olympics (in Frankfurt). I'm glad Canadians finally realize what the rest of the world has known for some time.

*A. Gosselin  
Montreal, Que.*

You note that the donkey owned by chef Michael Staufeldt was named Ned Diamond for no apparent reason. The animal was born on our farm on May 24, 1992. He got his name in part because of a diamond-shaped blaze on his nose, which disappeared when he shed his baby hair. My daughter used to practice the clavier on the upstairs balcony and our herd of 14 donkeys would hoot up at the fence and break and bay. After a practice, Ned's mother, Jackie, stayed and sang along to a Ned Diamond tape. The donkey's name was an obvious choice.

*Sir Jameson,  
Markham, Ont.*

## Parents and teenagers

It is interesting to note that in a distributed school system, John Flory does not underestimate the role of parents over ("Teenagers and depression," *The Road Ahead*, Aug. 17). My husband and I and the schools are responsible for developing the moral and ethical character of our daughter. We don't expect education to do our work for us. Perhaps this is where the problem really lies. Children are not given a strong sense of morals at home, while our educators do. After all, who spends the most time with children today: parents or educators?

*Elsbeth Sander,  
Guelph, Ont.*

I was truly offended and angered after reading Jan Flory's comments. Let's blame the education system for another of society's ills. Just a minute—when are the parents in this picture? If society gives kids mixed messages,



*Bevors of Le Vesuve in Toronto. Canadians are realizing what the rest of the world knows*

sages, then what is the parents' role in helping their child decipher those messages, re-developing their child's self-esteem and giving that child a solid set of values and moral perspective? Now, according to Flory Wrong! In a world of two-parent families and single-parent families, it is such easy to raise kids, but that doesn't mean people should simply have "fun and leave 'em to teachers." Schools are public servants that are increasingly required to "fix" more social and moral issues than is fair. If schools are "internal watchdogs," that is the result of a society that has no clear image of itself or its values. It is not the fault of the education system. Schools cannot replace parental values and parental education. Maybe it is the parents who need more education and support in raising their kids, and are waiting until they are teens and in crisis.

*Mariah Ahernson,  
Guelph, Ont.*

The article on teenagers and depression was the most comprehensive, accurate and succinct writing on the subject I have read. Editors and columnists have written thousands of columns inches on the subject, yet have never been one with as much success.

*R. M. Shantz  
Winnipeg*

## Health information

Congratulations on your article "Browser beware" (Health, July 27). Health reference databases or libraries, such as Body Talk, which is part of patient-care services at the University of Virginia Hospital, where I am a volunteer as well as client, do help the often puzzled and panicky patient or a relative learn more about diagnosis, treatments or health issues. Personnel prepare pocket

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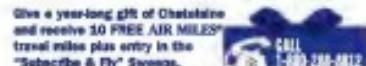
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## THE MAIL Referendum numbers

The editorial "Fifty-plus-one is not enough" (Sept. 7) is misleading. Soviets and Lithuanians did not choose whether to vote for independence because "Ya govornit" and the Soviet Union was disintegrating and there was no one else "nothin'". Countries spending millions during the referendum results say that they are the best countries in the world. Moreover, Lithuania declared its independence, and then had to re-negotiate terms which it excluded most of its Russian population. I would rather see that 50%-plus-one of all eligible voters should be an acceptable majority. It would be easy to achieve by making it compulsory for all eligible Quebecers with a vote in the referendum. Such compulsory voting already exists in many countries, such as Australia and New Zealand.

George Prentiss,  
Perthshire, Que.

## Pay equity appeal

I was deeply disturbed by the decision of the Liberal government to appeal the Human Rights Tribunal decision on the Public Service Alliance of Canada complaint ("The price of equity," Sept. 19). The preconditions of Bill Clinton pale in comparison to Jean Chrétien's screwing 200,000 women in one day. And day labour camped women had more of us who support their struggle.

Whitby, Ontario, Ont.

Congratulations to our federal government for having the nerve to appeal the pay equity ruling. I could accept wage inequality if there was any evidence that men doing the same jobs were getting paid more, but that was never the issue here. In this case, the feminists forever looking for ways to take advantage of the past our politicians feel over the inequalities of the past, had to find



## The Road Ahead

### Lower taxes to encourage innovation

We are treated to a litany of excuses for the Canadian dollar's feeble Quebec, Asia, Russia, natural resources dependency, U.S. interest rates, strong dollar. Leader Preston Manning in Hong Kong, and the list goes on. Although Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Finance Minister Paul Martin would prefer we keep our currency to Indonesia's or Russia's, our membership in the United States makes the greenback the only relevant standard for Canadians. Why then has the Canadian economy performed so abominably compared to our southern neighbour?

A major departure in economic policy started during the "badaise years" when Canada did just what the path towards a stable state. In 1960, government at all levels accounted for 28.6 per cent of gross domestic product in Canada and .27 per cent in the United States. By 1996, those shares had risen to 44.7 per cent and 38.3 per cent respectively.

This shift in power to government has given Canada the highest taxes in the hemisphere and one of the highest in the OECD countries. What is truly important, however, is the level of taxes in Canada compared to that south of the border. A U.S. entrepreneur establishing a new business gets to keep more of the write-offs created in terms of business tax, personal income tax and capital gains tax. Furthermore, as U.S. taxes are being reduced, the comparison is becoming more obvious.

To reverse the big money, Canadian innovation registration is needed. We have now come full circle; high taxes drive out jobs, lack of jobs suck resources (taxed) from the economy. Anybody can see that.

- Significantly reduce taxes and state an objective of further cuts to make Canada's tax level competitive.
- Substantially reduce the size of the public sector but merely with increased:

  - Provide greater transparency and accountability of healthcare costs. They should be reviewed from general tax revenue and funded by a combination of a health care tax and user fees.
  - Eliminate duplication in federal and provincial programs.

There is a lot to be done, but the sooner it is started, the better off all Canadians will be.

Borden, Ont.,  
St. George, Ont.

The above letter discusses in advance specific measures to ensure a political, social and economic program. Unsolicited submissions may be accepted as regular letters or appear as news items in the Letters column.

## Maclean's

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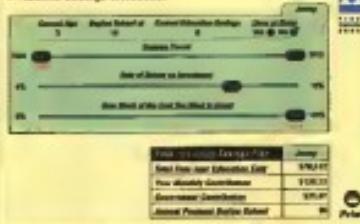
university will cost as much as \$75,000 in 10 years time."

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Savings Power			
Year	Year Junior will start school	Year	Year Junior will graduate
10	18	10	22
Date of Junior's Admission		Date Junior will Graduate	
10	18	10	22
How Much of My Cost Will I Cover?		How Much of My Cost Will I Cover?	
10	18	10	22
Total Estimated Savings Plan			
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1 Based on figures presented by the Bank of Montreal Economic Department in conjunction with the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada and Statistics Canada.

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3 Jenny decides to live at home while attending university, reducing her total education costs by 52 percent. The Millers only need to save \$81.10 each month with government grants of \$34.30 per month.

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### Column



# Barbara Amiel

## On the horns of a musical dilemma

**N**ext week is the Jewish New Year, and the following week brings our Day of Atonement. I'm not in observant few, but my roots are deep. My connection to the faith of my fathers, past and in sufficient though it has always sustained me. Having said that, let me reveal my religious ambivalence. In the top drawer of my desk lie the classified tickers I sent for some six months ago to a Royal Opera rendition of Richard Wagner's Ring Cycle. The second opera, *Die Walküre*, will be performed on Oct. 14th night. I should be in synagogue. What to do? Even my lapsed Jewish friends had doubts. "You can't go to Wagner on Yom Kippur," they said with genuine horror. "Verdi or Mozart, perhaps, but not Wagner."

Now, I don't need a rabbi to tell me that a Jew should be in synagogue on Yom Kippur. But I couldn't help being reminded by the old saw that the genius of Wagner is something a Jew should approach warily. In Israel, though there is no longer public performances of Wagner, there might well be. The Israeli Philharmonic can't play his music. Protestants and throngs to government funding would jeopardize its attempts, and every attempt has failed.

This summer, I went to the Bayreuth Festival to hear Daniel Barenboim, as Israeli, conduct the Wagner operas he can't do in Israel. On arrival, I saw that there was also a sold-out seminar of Wagner and the Jews Between Operas. Around two of Wagner's notorious essays, including "Judaism in Music." This is a complex subject with tangled roots in musicoLOGY and history, but let's not deal with the essays. Wagner saw the influence of Jews in music as a manifestation of the "other" nature of the few Jews, to be, Ick, locked the passionate, full-bladed superfidelity that music gets when it comes from that mystical bond between the pristine people (the Folk) and their land. Wagner returns again and again to this alienation, ascribing all bad qualities to the Folk and all bad things, including unprintable, obscuring moral truths, to our skin tribe.

Clearly, the essays are merely a passing review, often incomprehensible. No matter how gifted a person is in one area, that provides no assurance of clear-sightedness in another area. This is obvious, but we lose sight of it every year. We look at people who can hit a ball with a stick very well and expect them to be eminent pianists. Nobody goes to a baseball game to study marshmallows no one goes to Shakespeare to listen to a reading of Wagner's essays. Paul Robeson admired Stahl and was used by the Communists even as officials were being slaughtered. I wouldn't give up listening to Robeson's wonderful voice then or now.

Secondly, one cannot view anti-Semitic feelings or any racial or ethnic prejudices on the same way now as then. The great divide on

this in the Third Reich. After Hitler, all discussions on these subjects look on a different context.

As well, discussions of ethnic groups and their nature have an other aspect in real-life countries. In Canada, the reason there of society is to create unity out of disparate elements. We don't celebrate the great richness of our linguistic, cultural and tribal traditions. But Wagner's essays were written just at the time, about 1850, when emerging nationalism became the organizing principle of modern Germany was at its birth. The idea of the tribal soul of the great German people—the Folk spirit that inspired the most inspiring of a given group—was flowing in the wind and was a major part of the ethos at a time of global imperialism. Wagner's essays were also part of a great debate, now forgotten, between the romantics and the formalists. This translated in his regard, because of the pre-occupations of the period, into the clash between the art of the Folk and of the Jews. A certain formalism or codicile became identified with either German or Jewish music. Other periods have polarized differences in ethnic movements. Josef Skvorecky has written of Czech attempts to prevent the use of the wordless (the note) in playing the jazz trumpet because the Communist regime thought it bourgeois.

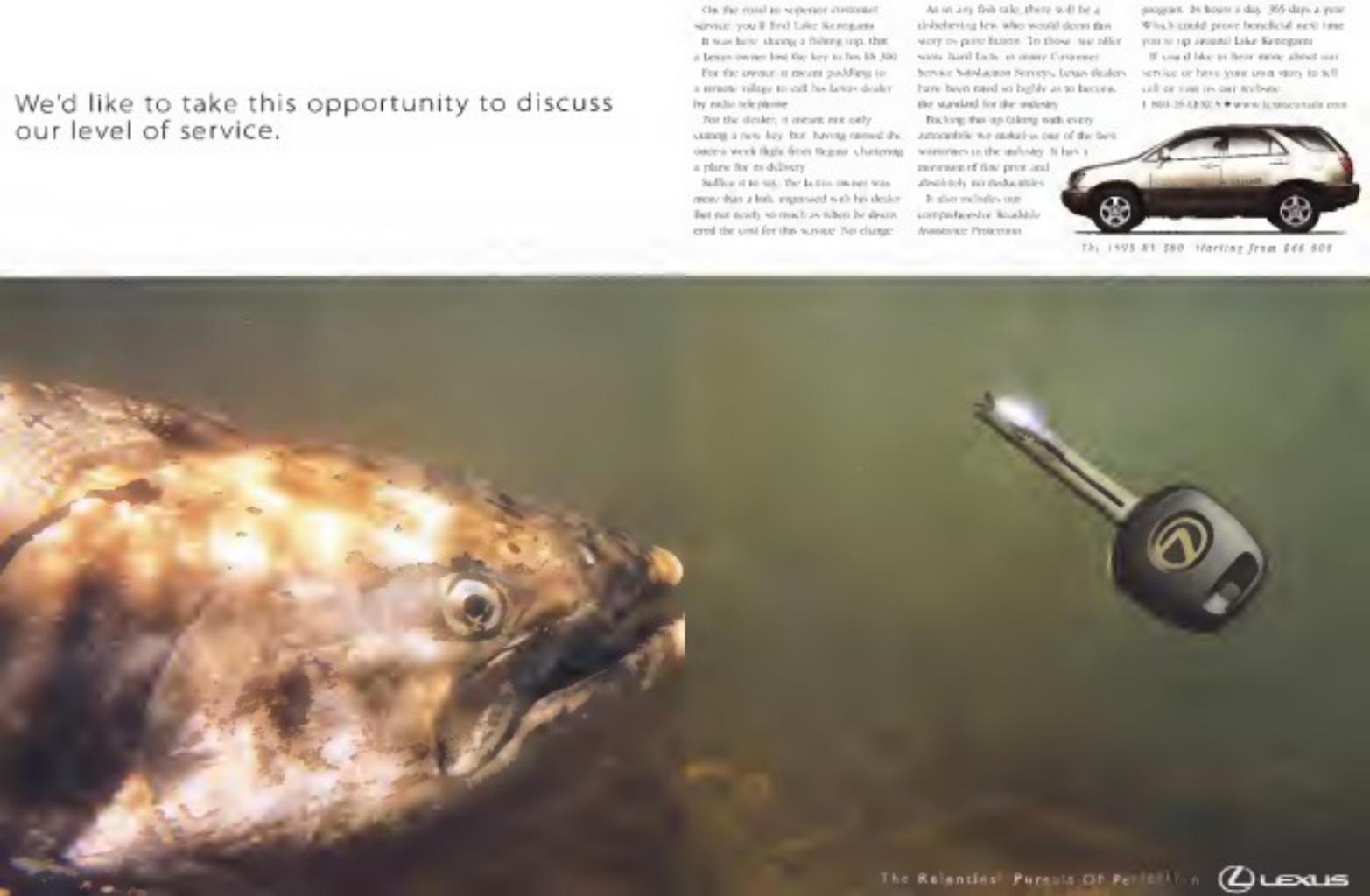
An entirely different matter has to do with the characteristics of Jewish speech, manner, manner and behavior in the mid-20th century. Today, one can hardly tell who is Jew or not. People come from the same shops, shop at the same supermarkets and watch CNN. But in those days, unless they belonged to a super-educated, cultured ensemble, the Jews were fundamentally different.

At the same time, in that static society characterized by social immobility, the Jews developed the greatest social mobility of all, which must have been offensive to many Jews but had forced into mercantile activities and money-lending when other occupations were closed to them. As society became more oriented along bourgeois rather than aristocratic lines, the Jews were better equipped to move in it. Add to all this Wagner's own personal temperament as a romantic who very much favored the passionate model with the grand gesture and one can see the problem. Most Jews of that era had little time for the grand gesture. They were not attracted to the great warmer characteristics of the romantic vision that was contemptuous of bourgeois notions of money-making or art as business or enterpreneur.

Ultimately, none of this matters. No one needs to read Wagner's essays or have business dealings with him. No one needs to do anything with him except the one thing in which he is quite peerless—but to his music. I will, but for purely religious reasons, perhaps not on Yom Kippur.

**'You can't go to Wagner on Yom Kippur,' said my lapsed Jewish friends. 'Verdi or Mozart, perhaps, but not Wagner.'**





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# A time to mourn

**Dear Sir:** This little stuffed toy whose label identified it as a Lion King was retrieved Friday, Sept. 4. It was carefully washed with the hope that it may provide some family member with solace or a tangible connection with the child to whom it belonged. My son, who has a seven-month-old daughter, informed me that this was Simba, a Disney character in The Lion King who grows up to become the Lion King at the end of the movie. Tragically, this is no worse and there is no happy ending. The owner of this baby has now grown up.

—Cap. Harvey E. Adams, in a note he attached to a stuffed animal after it was retrieved from the *Socorro 111* crash site near Priggs Cove, N.S.

BY BRIAN BERGMAN

**SCENE OF REMEMBRANCE:**  
Amid the grief, acts of  
human kindness,  
consideration and  
generosity

The kindness of a coast guard captain who went to provide some small measure of comfort to strangers who may live a world away. The compassion of a chief medical examiner who takes time out from the grisly task of identifying and cataloguing body parts to meet with grieving relatives and who later checks back twice as he recounts the experience. The generosity of a woman who has just lost her father and stepmother, and who offers up a public memorial service not to visit her grief, but to express her heartfelt gratitude for how Nova Scotians—and all Canadians—responded in a time of crisis.

These were among the points of light that pierced the pervasive gloom in the aftermath of the Sept. 2 crash of *Socorro 111*, which killed off 229 people onboard. It is a week when investigation sought answers to the big questions—but the plane crashed as a result of human error, mechanical failure or a combination of the two?—many others focused by the tragedy appeared to be acting as an instructive lesson need to convert. “It was like it happened in your own family or next-door neighbor,” says Lloyd O’Neill, a Roman Catholic priest from Halifax, who was seeing visitors of clergy and psychologists who counseled via just relatives than as far afield as Switzerland and South Africa. “All of a sudden, we were brothers and sisters in grief.”

The final incident that brought these strangers together began while a routine flight between New York City and Geneva went abruptly very less than an hour after takeoff on Sept. 2. At 10:14 p.m. Atlantic time, Capt. Ulrich Ziemannmann told the air traffic control tower in Moncton, N.B., that there was smoke in the cockpit of his Boeing MD-11 aircraft. Just 16 minutes later, the plane smashed into the sea, 14 km off Priggs Cove.

For the hundreds of transportation safety and police investigators assembled in Halifax last week, the central puzzle remained the same: What had gone so wrong, so quickly, to make an experienced crew working for an airline with a commendable reputation for safety standards lose control of their aircraft? Any comprehensive answer to that question will be impossible and the information in *Socorro 111's* cockpit voice recorder recovered by divers will never be analyzed. In the meantime, officials began to ferret out that provided some clues as to what may have sealed the fate of the aircraft's passengers and crew.

Some of the most revealing information came from the full transcript released last week of the conversation that took place between the pilots and air traffic controllers during the flight's final moments. It suggests that, despite the initial report of smoke at 00:14, Ziemannmann and his crew felt they had the situation under control. After informing “this, pan pan” to dis-



**Relatives of the victims of Flight 111 coped with their loss as the investigation continued**

tree signal less urgent than *mayday*, Ziemannmann requested diversion to Baddeck, fully 600 km away. And even after accepting the air controller's suggestion of the much closer Halifax airport, the pilot clearly felt he had enough time to execute a 180-degree turn and head out to sea, away from the airport, in order to dump fuel and lighten his load for landing.

But a scant 10 minutes later, the situation had become desperate. At 00:24, in the final radio communication between the plane and the control tower, Ziemannmann declared an emergency and said, “We have to land immediate—not immediately,” as the initial and excess plane trajectory released by investigators on Sept. 5 indicated.

Investigators had hoped that the plane's flight data recorder, retrieved from the ocean's depths on Sept. 4, would shed light on the last critical moments of *Flight 111*. But the initial analysis—which provides information on more than 300 aspects of the flight, including the state of the electrical system—snapped recording as the plane descended below 3,000 m altitude, roughly the point of the last radio communication. Vic Gordon, the Transportation Safety Board's lead investigator, said he requires that this record “hanging possibility” the aircraft had suffered an electrical shutdown that would have left the pilots disengaged if they could at all—literally in the dark, using only manual controls. If that scenario proves true, even the cockpit recorder's information may reveal little. “Anything about the plane's final several trajectory,” he says.

Other details disclosed by investigators appear consistent with the theory of a rapidly deteriorating series of electrical problems that ultimately confronted *Flight 111's* pilots with crippled controls and best conditions. Examination of the few fragments of the cockpit recovered by weeks' end revealed visible signs of heat damage in the cockpit, including parts of overhead paneling that were so hot that material melted and dropped onto one pilot's lapels and neck.

Evidence of electrical failure on *Flight 111* immediately led to a flurry of speculation about its cause. Much of this centred on the possible role played by the wings, shared the MD-11, which was taken on an isolating known as “Spanwise” widely used aviation product the U.S. market between 11 years ago because it was found to be causing that caused drag. (An other MD-11, flown China Eastern Airlines, crashed at week's end in Shanghai after the front landing gear reportedly jammed, resulting in several injuries.) And while some aviation analysts concentrated on possible mechanical failures, others were already blaming the tragedy on human error.

Former American Airlines pilot Don Tyree told reporters Ziemannmann wasted precious moments after acknowledging the presence of smoke by waiting out to sea to dump fuel—a standard procedure when contemplating an early landing. “He shouldn't have screwed around,” declared Tyree, who in 1979 safely landed a passenger jet without clearance to an



# CANADA

airport outside of Washington after a bomb exploded in the cargo hold. "Unless meant to be smashed if you are trying to avoid smashing a bunch of people on an airplane."

However, John Nance, a pilot and aviation analyst from Tumwater, Wash., called Medevac's that such accusations are both preposterous and irresponsible. Nance, who has written several books on urban safety, agrees Zemmermann could have opted for "a rocky though not particularly dangerous" straight-line approach to the Halifax airport. But he says the early indications are that the survivors believed they had the safer situation contained and were following the normal procedures for dealing with it. And though something clearly went terribly wrong in the ensuing moments, Nance says, "the most dangerous thing in an accident investigation is to go stampeding towards a conclusion" before the facts are in.

If last week's developments were any indication, that may be a long time coming. As of Saturday, only about two per cent of the MD 11 jet had been recovered from the icy Atlantic waters and just four of the 229 crash victims had been positively identified. But diving efforts had begun to try to retrieve many of the corpses trapped in the plane's fuselage. Searchers had pin-pointed five sections of the plane, lying in about 60 m of water. At the same time, the USCG Grappler—the ship that helped in the deep-sea salvage of the downed TWA Flight 800 off Long Island in 1996—was moving into position off Peggy's Cove to begin sifting up the sections.

For those involved in the ongoing recovery effort, the horrific sights they have been exposed to will not soon be forgotten. In ship-to-shore interviews with *Airweek*, Capt. Jim Dackson of the Canadian Coast Guard and Mary Higgins—one of 14 crew, coast guard and RCMP vessels frantically patrolling the wreckage site for floating debris—described the assignment's emotional toll. Beyond the grim task of retrieving body fragments, Dackson says it is the personal effects of the victims—and particularly of the children—that are most disturbing. "With wallets, passports and the



**THE GRIM TASK CONTINUES:** Troops comb the Nova Scotia shoreline for debris from the crash; personnel aboard HMCS Kingston (below) prepare to deploy a side-scan sonar



## A REKINDLED DEBATE OVER WIRING

**A**s Udo Zemmermann, the captain of Swissair Flight 111, heeled his Boeing MD-11 jet at 9,900 m, his 215 passengers settled in and waited for the attendants to serve supper. Soon after, Zemmermann noticed the fast seats of smoke drift into the cockpit—and 16 minutes later, the plane slammed into the Atlantic Ocean off Peggy's Cove, N.S. Last week, investigators examining pieces of the wreckage and metal shards have revisited by an

intense heat, while material above the aircraft's seats had melted—possibly evidence that a rapid and deadly electrical fire had rippled through the flight deck. And those investigators inside to the gushing airplane over just how safe are the nearly 240 km of wires running through a large jetliner? "Because of those horrific crashes," says Ed Black, a former U.S. defense department aircraft wiring expert, "the wiring issue has come out of the closet."

Over the past eight years, various types of electrical problems have forced U.S. airlines to make more than 1,000 unscheduled stops, including two fatal-related emergency landings each week. And as early as October, the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration plans to introduce a sweeping inspection program to examine the wiring on more than 72,000 aging passenger jets, such as DC-9s and Boeing 737s. (Although MD-11s only came into service in 1990, they will also fall within the FAA study.) At the center of the debate is a product called aromatic polyimide tape, which is widely

used as a covering on aircraft wiring. If it catches, electricity can arc to nearby material, setting it on fire. "Anytime you get in a plane with these kinds of wires," said Patrick Price, a former wiring expert with Boeing Co. in Seattle, "it's like being in a barbecue on board."

In many cases, FAA inspectors will be looking at a breed of aromatic polyimide product known as Kapton. Developed by the U.S. chemical giant DuPont, it dominates the polyimide market. But in 1992, the U.S. Navy stopped using it in its jet fighters when cracks in wires coated with Kapton were linked to on-board fires. And according to Susan Bradley, a spokeswoman for Boeing, Kapton was the primary coating used on the wiring in Swissair Flight 111. When a fatal defectors in Kapton, electrical arcs along the wires in a phenomenon known as fiber-out, which burns at a searing 1,000°C. The fire can be so hot that it will even cut through metal sheeting controls, and Price and other critics suggest that just such a fire may have broken through Flight 111's auxiliary power cables.

Since 1993, however, industry experts say Kapton has been improved by wrapping

it in a tough Teflon coating. The new product is still widely used, although some manufacturers have been phasing it out. (DuPont-based Bombardier Inc., for one, does not use Kapton in its latest generation of passenger jets.) Boeing still sells older versions of the product we use," said company spokesman John Thorne. "Kapton was and is certified for use on commercial airplanes." Even so, FAA officials say they may soon order its removal from hundreds of planes.

RON SORIANO/RITTER/for *Airweek*

through their bodies by the *sunfish*—or the intense media interest in the crash, victims' relatives may be reminded of their loss for years to come, when they pick up a newspaper or watch the evening news. "They will relive the event and that will generate the emotional part," he says.

As for the fisherman who participated in the plight of Flight 111's victims—as well as the police and military personnel who are still digging the wreckage for clues—they will also need time to make peace with the tragedy that happened their backyard. "We all saw too much horror that night," says Bob Kerrison, a retired fisherman from Lower Tantallon, who passed on a friend's boat to respond to the crisis on Sept. 2. "Screaming like that up close, it plays on your mind. No one will get over this easily—if at all."

RON SORIANO/RITTER/for *Airweek*

up paddle to take back home, or simply moved out of the sea. On Wednesday night, a public memorial service at Indian Harbor, near Peggy's Cove, was attended by more than 1,000 family members of the victims, as well as hundreds of ordinary Nova Scotians "here to be here for the families," said Andrew Laprade, a local volunteer fireman who had participated in the initial land search in the hours after the crash. "I feel they are a part of the now." As Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Swiss President Pascal Couchepin, a choir from St. Margaret's Bay Elementary School opened the service with a popular song that evoked the bond that had developed between the foreign mariners and their host community: "Even on me when you're not strong'll be your friend/I'll help you carry on."

The summit ceremony featured speakers and hymns but few tears. But perhaps the most stirring words came from Claire Martineau, whose father, retired Air Force Capt. Maurice Martineau, who conducted the study comparing the MD-11's reported difficulties between 1993 and 1998 with those that occurred for aircraft similar in age:

MD-11	787	
Flying hours	644,000	5,200,300
Number of departures	16,300	2,200,300
Number of planes started	42	320
Number of safety related reports filed	147	144
Percentage of present reporting fleet	25	0
Percentage reporting charter lines routes	37	20
Percentage reporting unchartered landings	72	81
Percentage reporting iterations	28	0

These numbers, she said, "are surprising to us because of the intensive media interest in the crash, victims' relatives may be reminded of their loss for years to come, when they pick up a newspaper or watch the evening news. 'They will relive the event and that will generate the emotional part,' she says.

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TOM FERNELL with DAVID ANNALESHAWA



## CANADA

# Trouble in the skies

### Flying is safe, but problems lie ahead

**T**wo consecutive pilots and their lone passenger aboard Transair Flight 301 approached Sioux Lookout Airport, 250 kilometers northwest of Thunder Bay, Ont., on May 1, 1995. At the same time, Air Swiss Flight 3391, with one pilot and four passengers aboard, fled off the runway. Five minutes later, the planes collided almost head-on at an altitude of 1,400 m and fell to earth in flames, killing all eight people. A year later, the Transportation Safety Board of Canada concluded that a piece of collision-avoidance equipment, which the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration began introducing in 1989—Transport Canada has not followed suit—likely would have prevented the accident. Peter Fornaris, safety chairman for the Canadian branch of the Air Line Pilots Association, says the federal regulator dodged a bullet because of the small number of casualties and the relative lack of attention to the accident. "The government," Fornaris says, "got really lucky."

As the collision in Sioux Lookout shows, there are tragic ways to make air travel safer. Most commercial planes in Canada do have devices to warn of oncoming aircraft—if only because most Canadian planes also fly to the United States, where the equipment is required. Without the warning systems, Fornaris says, small commercial planes and their passengers in Canada are put needlessly at risk. But it is the rare, large-scale accident like Swissair Flight 111 that shake public confidence most profoundly. Particularly unnerving are the planes that fall out of the sky for an apparent reason. While Flight 111 reportedly broke in the cockpit before crashing in the Atlantic off

**RECONSTRUCTING TWA FLIGHT 800**  
**LAST YEAR:** The missing link is far safer, some experts say, in a global watchdog with the clout to enforce the rules worldwide.

Long Island, N.Y., in 1996, investigators never fully determined what caused the last flight to explode, but they still are not certain.

Statistics, though, appear to back widespread claims that flying is unreasonably safe. Last year, about 17,000 people died in car accidents in Canada and the United States alone, while only 918 died in 26 and down, including regularly scheduled flights worldwide. That number does not include other flights such as charter. Put another way, the Montreal-based International Civil Aviation Organization says that for a passenger to have an even chance of dying in a plane, that individual would have to fly every day for 40 years.

There are, however, troubling signs on the horizon. According to the Flight Safety Foundation in Alexandria, Va., about 3.5 accidents occur for every million flight hours worldwide, a figure that has remained essentially unchanged since the mid-1980s. The problem, says Harry Goss, president of the Canadian watchdog group Transport 2000, is that air travel is booming. On any given day, there is already an average of 40,000 aircraft in the air. The number of passengers worldwide is expected to skyrocket to 2 billion by 2005 from 1.5 billion last year. And more flights will mean more accidents.

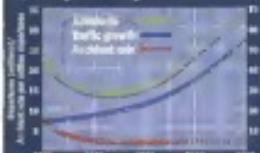
To come with the projected demand, Air Canada, for example, has hired 700 pilots since June, 1995. Airbus Industrie in Europe has on its drawing board plans for a double-decker behemoth capable of carrying 800 passengers, well above the 500 a 747 jet can carry now. Boeing Co. has similar plans. In short, says Goss, if the rate at which accidents occur stays constant, and air travel continues its domestic climb, then "by the year 2015 there would be a major crash at the end we see at Pogeny Cove every week."

The missing link is air safety, according to ICAD. It is a global watchdog with the clout to enforce rules. At the moment, ICAD sets the standards and recommended practices which its 105 member countries agree to follow. The countries, however, police themselves, and regions like Africa, eastern Europe and Latin America do not have the infrastructures or resources to do so effectively. Consequently, those regions have far higher accident rates than North America.

On Sept. 22, ICAD is to begin its 10-day international assembly in Montreal, where representatives of member countries will be asked to vote on whether their organization should become the world's aviation-safety auditor conducting regular mandatory safety audits. You might be looking at maybe three to six years to put into place a sound system. ICAD spokesman Denis Chagnon says. In the meantime, there was no reason not to fly. Chagnon says: "The bottom line is," he adds, "what's with the safest way to travel?" While that may be true, air travel is not without risks. People may need more convincing.

### An ever-mounting toll

The accident rate worldwide has trended off, but the number of flight crews crashing as the number of crashes.



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# Red Chamber showdown

**Senate reformers face off against Ottawa**

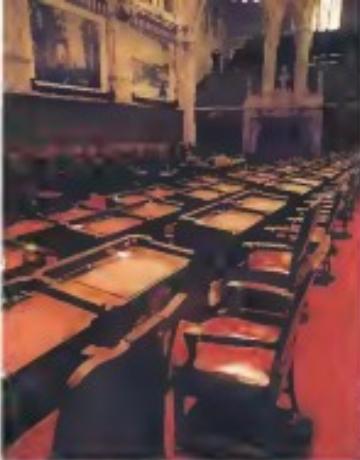
**S**enator John Lynch-Staunton did not even bother opening his luncheon speech to Calgary Rotarians last week with a joke. Calgary is home to some of the country's most vociferous Senate reformers who were not likely to see much humor in a Brian Mulroney-appointed Tory senator from Quebec entering their hall. Facing that kind of crowd, Lynch-Staunton decided his best defense was a good offense. "It's almost distracting from the dissatisfaction with an appointed Senate," he told his audience. "What should concern Canadians is how extensively centralized their federal parliament has become over the years." But Lynch-Staunton pointed first and foremost at the problem: the prime minister's almost unrestricted powers under Canada's current bicameral system, none the least of which in his opinion is Dennis Ross' appointment.

On most issues, though, Lynch-Staunton, along with many other senators, is open-minded. Many Canadians are dismayed by the upper chamber's intransigence, its lack of reform, and want to see changes. Afterward, one conservative senator cast his vote during something else. "They began at 7:30 by electing the Reform party's Sen. Waters as a temporary, non-vetoed appointed senator to nominate a senator Waters would nominate," says Lynch-Staunton. "By then it was 11:30 and the next day. And this Oct. 19, at the same time as Alberta voted to increase its legislature, they'll again vote for two senators without, for a victory that was not supposed to come open until 2001. Terry Prenter, Ralph Klein called the election in June in what was widely seen as a way to placate the Reformers who hate it with a passion. The provincial caucus that then elected the Senate election later took more than a political stand and will last week, only six candidates had entered the race—all of them Reformers.

The sleepy mood surrounding the vote exploded that result with the unexpected resignation of Alberta Senator Jim Forrest, 72, who left Ottawa to better care for her gravely ill husband, Rudy. Suddenly, the Alberta election was no longer an academic exercise. It also created an uncomfortable problem for Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who vowed to move quickly to appoint Forrest's replacement. Suddenly, aroused western conservatives and columnists warned



**Moving, the  
Senate Reforms are  
Impairing Alberta's  
election or Alberta's**



**The people who brought you the world's  
first sport-utility wagon now bring you  
the world's first sport-utility sedan.**



**The New Outback Sedan**

against such political re-constitutionalization. He, who has built a career on following his gut instincts on what legislation is sound, found some fire and decided it would be "profoundly" different if a senator appointed a senator before the previous term's voters had a chance to have their say. "The issue has been down the constitutional track in a worse situation," says Steve Gibson of the conservative Canada West Foundation, which has been a leading advocate of elected senators in a way to correct regional imbalance in Ottawa.

As it stands, it's the federal Liberal's fault. A bill and schedule to be three years old last October would be referred to the government's two Alberta seats—both held by holdovers from Alberta's last election—but held in Edmonton—in part, Gibson says, given Alberta's only hope of avoiding an early outcome from Alberta is to appoint someone with substantially comparable credentials. With the Reform caucus currently at an impasse over Prime Minister's leadership, the Liberals were held off temporarily by the Senate appointment to itself. But they may also be holding trouble coming up with an Alberta willing to accept a Senate seat (neither Liberal nor Conservative there is a stigma in Alberta attached to accepting a less-far-right appointment in defiance of the pending election). "Die, they'll fall hard," says Bill Code, a Calgary lawyer who ran as a Liberal and lost to Waters in 1998. "Somebody who's ready to take some abuse."

Alberta Liberal Paul Baxley, the argument that elected senators will be as immune to true Senate reform. They went to corrective

**BRUCE WALLACE** in Ottawa



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## CANADA

# APEC hangover

**T**he University of British Columbia in suburban Vancouver is blessed with a beautiful campus. With its rolling green grasslands and Pacific Ocean waves lapping at its edges, it is no surprise that Prime Minister Jean Chrétien personally approved UBC as the site for last November's summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation countries. In hindsight, he might wish he had not selected the nice, open backdrop for so many isolated locations. Vancouverites, who tend to be law-abiding gourmets for political occasions, and hundreds of UBC students used the occasion to express their anger at human rights abuses in some APEC countries.

The prime minister's office released documents leaked to the media but were excluded from RCMP security studies: "The PM wants everyone removed." And other documents suggest Chrétien and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy went to great lengths to reassure one particular guest—then Indonesian dictator Suharto, who was deposed at home within six months of the Vancouver summit—that he would not see or hear any demonstrators in Canada.

More than had safety from the APEC summit now haunts Chrétien. Beginning this week in Vancouver, the RCMP Public Complaints Commission will examine allegations from several groups, including UBC students, that officers used excessive force to keep the 17 leaders safe. But the hearing is set to go before continuing RCMP conduct, and ask whether either Chrétien or his aides in the Prime Minister's Office encouraged police to use extraordinary measures to keep any signs

proclaiming "No to Suharto" off the streets. That trio of misconduct adherents will appear: chief of staff Jean Pelletier, and John Clark, then the PMO's director of operations.

Clark's testimony may be the most revealing. A close friend of the Chrétien family, as well as a long-time aide, Clark developed a fierce repartition for throwing his weight around after the Liberals won power in 1993 in one unsavory incident. He publicly berated Canada's ambassador to Egypt, Michael Bell, at the 1994 Sharjah Stock Exchange summit, blasting him as an embittered snob between the 7500 and Egyptian security officers. As director of operations, Clark was the PMO's liaison with the RCMP—an area where political and security concerns can easily overlap. Some RCMP officers privately told *Mashup* they are taking the blame for simply carrying out the PMO's orders, which they alleged included instructions to move demonstrators away from the leaders.

In the run-up to the APEC summit, Chrétien's office was clearly intent on assuaging Suharto's worries. Through his ambassador to Canada, the dictator made it clear he did not want to see any protests against him and threatened to boycott the summit unless that was assured. Axworthy, then a minister, grew increasingly concerned by Suharto's demands—but he could hardly quash them. Indonesia has the world's largest Muslim population, and Suharto was the most influential leader in southeast Asia. A summit without him might be deemed a failure.

As a result, documents show Axworthy and Chrétien reassured the Indonesian president in letters that Suharto would not have to worry about his "friends," as they put it. Axworthy also reportedly apologized to the Indonesian foreign minister that the "Western" possessive Suharto, when appearing in Canadian cities, were "intrusive and excessive"—an surprising statement from a minister who was a civil rights marcher in his own trade days. The RCMP even agreed to allow Suharto's own security agents to carry controlled weapons, although they did tell the visitors, in answer to their questions, that shooting demonstrators "would not be tolerated"—and that they could do nothing to control media coverage.

It may be difficult to prove at the Vancouver hearings that RCMP security efforts went too far. The responsibility for keeping foreign dignitaries safe from harm while an Canadian soil can be used to justify strict control measures. (According to reports of widespread concern for the demonstrators themselves may have been a factor, especially after the RCMP learned that Suharto is a survivor of the much-hailed head of Indonesia's second president, who折磨ing the dictator's designated heir.) But next week's testimony may shed light on a more unsettling question: whether a Canadian prime minister or his staff turn to stooges from advancing freedom and democracy, all to avoid embarrassing a visiting despot.

BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

**Did the PMO ask for a police crackdown?**



Arresting a protester  
(above); Carter, a  
former Chechen aide

of protest well away from the leaders. Documents leaked to the media but were excluded from RCMP security studies: "The PM wants everyone removed." And other documents suggest Chrétien and Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy went to great lengths to reassure one particular guest—then Indonesian dictator Suharto, who was deposed at home within six months of the Vancouver summit—that he would not see or hear any demonstrators in Canada.

Chrétien has acknowledged that, in fact, he asked his staff to make sure the visitors had no security issues. But he denied he ever issued orders to have down signs or direct demonstrators from the meetings. "I don't have to explain anything," he said last week. "I did not talk to any RCMP person. Chrétien also said he would refuse to testify before the

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## Horse whispering

BY LUCIANNA CICCO CIOPPO

**A** dusty gravel road cuts through a fenced valley covered with dark fields of earth and bright yellow wildflowers. It winds along the foothills of the Rockies and passes by Three Post Stables, near the town of Millarville in southwest Alberta. Today, more people have brought their horses to Three Post Stables (another two-day training clinic) than the cool, dirt-floored training rooms all eye—farrier and equine—arr as Kevill Williamson as he teaches the fundamentals of handling a horse.

Williamson is a horse whisperer—someone who can communicate quietly with horses. He trains them through hand gestures and body movements, and eschews the harsh traditional methods such as roughly yanking on the reins. The 30-year-old trainer is one of about a dozen well-known horse whisperers in North America, and includes the quiet old timers who don't market their skills.

Horse whispering dates back to the Moors, but it was popularized by the爱尔兰best-seller *The Horse Whisperer*, by British author Nicholas Evans, and the Robert Redford movie of the same name. Old World horse whisperers were thought to be sorcerers who relied on potions and magic to train their steeds, although many used the methods of touch and gesture.

Williamson now employs "these people would go into a barn and two hours later come out with a horse that was handleable," says Williamson, who grew up on a ranch in Bragg Creek, Alta., 80 km west of Calgary. With the advent of industrialization, horse whispering almost became a lost art. Now that it has become trendy, Williamson worries any beginner may claim to be a horse whisperer. "All the media attention may be misleading the public," he says.

On the back wall of the Three Post Stables training facility there is a large poster of Heribert's film, showing a black horse galloping into the sunset. Beneath the poster, Williamson tracks his own students and their animals via e-mail, "carrying the nature of horses." That means making him comfortable willingly to commands without harsh discipline. "I can put the fear of God into the horse and get him into a horse show and he may say yes," Williamson says. "But I'm not getting true communication and respect."

Williamson works with about 12 horses at a time. He says he will never get rich, but the mortgage gets paid. He charges \$500 for one round of training and boarding and \$225 for a two-day clinic. The clothing store he runs with his wife, Lorrie, plus a partnership in a florist business add to his income. But Williamson's main passion remains horse whispering. With his mouthy classes filling up quickly and a growing waiting list, Williamson may soon be able to pursue his calling full time. And, one day, with the increase in traffic to Three Post Stables, the gravel road leading there may just have to be paved. □

Williamson and student practice with the horses at all times and above all no pulling or forcing.

or easier to get it to behave. Williamson doesn't think all trainers are abusive just because they use spurs and whips. He just believes there are better ways to train. "If a person leads a horse by pulling or forcing the horse from Day 1 to resist pressure and to against it," he says. "Once that's on, you always have to make the horse do things as opposed to asking and maybe rewarding through willingness."

Getting a horse to respond means applying the "pressure principle." Handled properly in a variety of ways, Williamson says through changes in the weather, change in the topography of a trail, and biomechanical changes among the herd. For example, when the trailblazer moves through a group of horses, the other animals yield. However, Williamson adds, can have the same impact. When he moves his body towards the hip of a horse—use of the pressure points—the animal steps away. Williamson then knows that when he turns to walk, the horse will follow. For a rider this control on the animal allows greater control in the saddle. It means squeezing with the left leg to turn left, with a gentle tug on the left rein. Conventional methods can employ snicks or spurs, on the opposite side, to get the horse to move. If it's a balanced system, Williamson says, for ensure a "peace and perfect" animal.

One Williamson patient is 12-year-old Rivers Blehr of Crossfield, Alta., who brought her spooked gelding, Frosty Friday, to the clinic. "He had a problem with rearing and evading certain things, and he had a problem with refusing fences," Blehr says. She laughs. "He was really a chicken." But after about six weeks of Williamson's touch, Frosty Friday returned to competition and was able to perform well.

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# The body hunters

BY CHRIS WOOD

**I**t was dark, cold and dangerous, but Tim MacFarlane was in his element. The pitch-frosted waters of Alta Lake, 60 km north of Vancouver, had claimed one life already that day. Just hours earlier, 22-year-old athlete Alvin Yau, training for a triathlon, had been swept away across the lake. MacFarlane had observed the young man's species' instinct to struggle in the water, then sink into the dark depths. Now MacFarlane, wearing full-seal gear and tethered by a rope to a partner, was working his way across the lake's rocky bottom to the site of death. It was his second dive in the hour. In fact, an Abbotsford, B.C.-based Canadian Amphibious Search Team had reached the scene of Yau's disappearance. Soon, he would know his service. Then, as results, with the spent air reservoir pinched, he cracked the seal with his teeth and got him—by his toe.

MacFarlane is a fast team. MacFarlane and his dozen or so CAST volunteers seek out such moments at every opportunity. They willingly spend most wet hours and many evenings away from their families to recover the bodies of people believed to have died in the water or wilderness, often long after official search-and-recovery intervals had ended. They do the often thankless work for hire, where they can, or for a donation to their charities before opening costs. But frequently, they do it for nothing, confronting death in its most horrific visages out of a raw generosity for saving a life through. "We're here for the families who have been told by the RCMP, 'We're done as much as we can,'" explains MacFarlane, himself the father of two young daughters. "The motivation is to find these people and bring them home, to have closure for the family."

Kathy Flug knows how much that can mean to surviving family members. On Nov.



**Search (above):** CAST member Melanie Robson with team dog Rover give assistance

26, 1986, just a week short of his 18th birthday, her son Trevor, an avid outdoorsman and freshly minted lifeguard with dreams of becoming a physician, went dead swimming with a friend at the mouth of the Puntledge River, southeast of Vancouver. Tragically struck when a wave capsized the pair's 40-ft boat, the friend survived; Trevor went under. After 48 hours, the official search ended. A week later, MacFarlane's team found Trevor's body not far from the area that police had searched. "We were so appalled," says Flug. "It was really bad, but I had to say, 'I had to say goodbye—because that's what he was brought here.'

Police or fire department squads end up in most provinces. The RCMP in British Columbia has 45 divers in its underwater recovery teams, scattered across the province. The Calgary fire department's unit is commanded by the head of the North America Bat, public safety leaders do not permit specialized searches—or even, at times, ensure that police or fire department divers will be

paid and lost known passage when alive. The inner balances that informatics against their combined experience of how people—and bodies—behave under different combinations of terrain, weather and stress. The search itself can include such sophisticated techniques as side-scan imaging under water, to locate the most promising areas for a dive. At least one knowledgeable observer credits MacFarlane's extensive know-how, as much as the team's diving skill, for CAST's track record. "He has ability to go back, step by step and reevaluate," says Bob Testler, a Vancouver-based author and expert on underwater investigation. "That leads to their high degree of success where others have failed."

For MacFarlane, though, there is clearly more at work than the intellectual challenge of uncovering a mystery. Since meeting his wife, St. Louisville, Que., to British Columbia in 1980 to join the coast guard, he has participated in dozens of harrowing marine rescues. Now, he says, have ever peaked the same satisfaction as helping locate a family's missing relative, sometimes long after they have died. "It's more of an emotional release," he insists.

Sometimes, the passage of time can even aid a search. While other British Columbians harbored their way through Labor Day, MacFarlane and several CAST members hiked all through dense bush to the base of a winter-laden Collic Lake, 60 km east of Vancouver. Late last May, those spuds were still bearing their signature high-sulfur production—the color of damp green leaves from the winter, when they are still. A second youngster jumped in to help, only to be swept away in the tumbling water. His friend managed to scramble out of the water to safety. A search had to find the missing 17-year-old. By Labor Day, however, the water in the creek had fallen to below its spring level. Shoreline rocks protruding from the base of the massive waterfall, the team located the boy's body decomposed but well-preserved.

The next at least a dozen divers, mostly visiting from British Columbia where MacFarlane believes the team could never fit, like like sterilized organisms, cast MacFarlane believe the team could never fit. But like sterilized organisms, CAST has a chronic shortage in its ranks to cover its \$10,000-to-\$50,000-a-day search costs. Early this summer, CAST founders rallied a charitable arm called the Orca Foundation to seek support from private individuals and service groups for their work. "There is an glory in it," says MacFarlane. "There's so much pride. You're doing a very dirty job—for all the right reasons." In MacFarlane's case, both that job and his living are will be put on hold this fall. The B.C. body-hunting was scheduled to fly to Halifax on the weekend, to help counsel coast guard personnel transitioning by the search for remains of victims of the *Seawise Giant* (131 deaths); there was one search he was assigned. Flug not to have taken part in herself. □

MacFarlane will serve some big hurdles

## Bruce Wallace



# Angling for a plum post

**I**t sometimes seems there is hardly an international organization that doesn't have a Canadian trailing for one of its top-tier jobs. Not content to have former Liberal cabinet minister Donald Johnston leading the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris, Louise Arbour prosecuting war criminals at The Hague and Louise Fréchette heading up an UN agency general Kofi Annan in New York City, Ottawa is now pushing hard for a UN Security Council seat. This may be in keeping with our nation's self-image as an honourable nation, but others are starting to see it as greed. This summer, two new names were added to the list of Canadian contenders for a prominent post: former trade minister Ray MacLaren as an official candidate for director general of the WTO—the World Trade Organization—and Immigration Minister Sheila Copps, now popularly known as "the Queen of UNESCO," the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Of the two, the Copps nomination is the better example of overreach. It has been noted in Ottawa how the minister has failed in her bid to make travel ban the cornerstone of her tenure. Instead, she has focused on the progress of the event disengaged Liberal leader, heading the United Nations' most chronically unengaged agency vis-à-vis the progressive Ottawa lens on plans to carry out her policies.

The Clinton government is, however, slowly getting behind MacLaren's bid to head the WTO, the Geneva-based global trade institution. No personality matches hers. Currently high commissioner in Geneva, MacLaren is a door-knocking maven for liberalized trade. And like the time and he can work the woods "free trade" into his answer. Never much enthused about the high commission in the first place, MacLaren has been accused by his colleagues in Ottawa of trying to run Canadian trade policy from abroad. The WTO, which is about to embark on difficult negotiations to end subsidies protection for farm and cultural industries, is seen as a perfect fit for her.

MacLaren will surely be backed by another of developing nations that is in no hurry to hold the elusive gubernatorial election. Her bid is a written agreement that the head of state will be the European. That directly poses minister Sophie Poitras' candidacy is the only other declared candidate, but the developing world is expected to produce more names before the issue is settled, by consensus, this fall.

Another hitch is the reluctance of the Chrétien government to put off its lobbying march into MacLaren's bid. It took tremendous diplomatic pressure, led by Jean Charest himself, for Art Johnson's appointment to the OECD and Poitras' replacement. Charest's advisers don't think the world is ready for another Canadian in a top economic post, and are not about to risk much political capital into a process that can easily become a heating fight.

And MacLaren's experience has made him an increasingly welcome friend in the Liberal party. He made an excellent first attack on being dragged from cabinet after selling Charest the would not run in the 1997 election. He showed his persistence by passing Newt Gingrich's general practitioner in Labrador, out of the high commissioners' race, and won. Why Harry's arrival in Britain several days ahead of schedule and at the time of Diana's death, was nothing, with Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy has been—ever who should formally make the process to the Ottawa bid more transparent. The two men are not talking, and Axworthy would be happy to see MacLaren off to Geneva.

In the end, however, the success of MacLaren's bid will be determined outside Canada. The WTO is creating a crucial era determined to bring trade in culture and services under its jurisdiction, it is certain to meet resistance from governments wanting from this year's display of relentless globalization. MacLaren will get a measure of that backlash when he takes the job in foreign capitals this fall. And for my part, that is, their wounded state, governments want more sensitivity from the next director that his bromides of unabashed love for free trade provide.

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wants to head the  
World Trade  
Organization,  
but the Liberals  
must get on side**

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## Canada NOTES

### CHARGES DROPPED

Crimes lack of evidence, Alberta's justice department dropped charges of *repeatedly endangering life* against Wilco Ludwig Sr., 56, his wife Marnie Lou Ludwig, 55, their son Wade, 26, and Wade's wife Esther Lee Richard Bevans, 33. Police had the charges after an Aug. 24 explosion at an oil well near Hitler, 275 km west of Edmonton. In the past two years, there have been 950 acts of vandalism against forestry and energy companies in Alberta.

### CHARBET SPEAKS OUT

Quebec Liberal Leader Jean Charest promised tax cuts and less government intervention as the economy is his first major economic statement since taking over leadership of the party last spring. "The diagnosis is clear—Quebec's economy lags behind," he told a chamber of commerce audience in Quebec City. "The obsession with independence has cost us very dearly."

### VANDER ZALM TAKES AIM

Bill Vander Zalm, the former B.C. Social Credit premier and current president of the provincial Reform party, attacked the NDP government for its deal with Niagara Falls' salaried, saying the deal will impoverish the province. In a wide-ranging speech, Vander Zalm, 64, also criticized what he called the social engineering policies of the NDP and provincial Liberals. "There's money to save changes," he said, "but no basis or money to cover or cover treatment."

### RAMSAY IN COURT

Alberta Reform MP Jack Ramsay, 61, proclaimed his innocence after appearing in court in La Ronge, Sask. Ramsay, who did not enter a plea, faces charges of sexual assault, attempted sexual assault and unlawful confinement that date back 29 years and involve two women who were teenagers. His preliminary hearing was set for Feb. 18.

### POLICE UNDER FIRE

Police in Regina came under attack after an officer fatally shot a 16-year-old boy, Josh Engdahl, who suffered from mental problems, had been visiting a housing unit in a residential neighborhood and died during a stand-off with five officers. Human rights advocates said the officers should have been able to subdue the boy.



**EXPLOSIVE:** In Montreal, investigators searched the car of a Hells Angels associate who narrowly escaped the bomb that tore his vehicle apart. It was the second such explosion in six days, as the war for control of Quebec's drug trade between the Angels and rival biker the Rock Machine again escalates. On the day of the latest blast, a Rock Machine biker was shot dead, six weeks after his leader, Richard (Blow-Burn) Lagacé, was killed. "For a long time, they were going after the lesson," RCMP Staff Sgt. Jean-Pierre Léveillé said of the Hells Angels attack on the Rock Machine. "Now, they're going for the head."

### Reform's new push for unity

Reform Leader Preston Manning told a

Canada meeting in Banff, Alta., that he would no longer tolerate dissension for much of the summer. Reformers have squabbled over whether MPs who had voted out of their lucrative pension plan should be allowed to sign back in. British Columbia MP Jim Hart, who has since apologized, had recently pushed the issue to the test by revoking the plan after attacking Manning's leadership. He then resigned from the party, but has subsequently asked to be readmitted. "There's going to be some people on the sidelines for a while until they can de-mobilize to their colleagues, and their constituents particularly, that they've got

their eye on the ball," Manning told reporters.

The party now wants to turn an attention to Manning's so-called united alternative, a proposed alliance between Reform and Conservative. Last week, a group of Reformers and Tories announced the establishment of a steering committee to plan a Feb. 10-12 United Alternative Convention in Ottawa. An alliance is key to Reform's future success, since the party holds no seats east of Manitoba. The idea is supported by some provincial Tories such as Alberta Treasurer Stockwell Day and Ontario Transportation Minister Tony Clement. "This country needs to have a sound alternative to a Liberal monopoly," Clement said.

### Condition critical

In response to fierce pressure from its medical researchers, Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children announced an investigation into a dispute between one of its physicians and a pharmaceutical company. After Dr. Nancy Obregon contacted a 1996 clinical trial on a new drug developed by Aventis Inc., she concluded the

medication was harming her patients, who suffered from a rare blood disorder. Obregon wanted to publicize her findings, but Aventis—which insists she is wrong about the drug—threatened to sue her for violating the confidentiality agreement she signed. When the hospital refused to stand behind her, some of its top researchers threatened to leave the institution—a serious blow to its reputation.

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World COVER

# STARR CROSSED

BY ANDREW PHILIPS

**T**here was something entirely fitting about the way Bill Clinton began what most surely have been one of the most trying days of his long political life. Just about by a kind of public inscrutability that few have known—the most intimate details of an discreet sexual liaison had surely been for all the world, at least all the world with access to the Internet, to read. What better time to identify oneself with people in the Press than the week he struggled with 120 priests, nuns, rabbis and imams at the annual White House prayer breakfast? It was there, in the East Room, that his ever-busy schedule for the after-with-you Monitor on Washington was again in evidence, half-carried agenda and shaggy hairdo all ready to be beamed him. “I have friends,” Clinton said. “They know what I’m going to do.” He had been “a little bit spent” and had reached “an understanding that I need have God’s help to be the person that I want to be.” Tears welled in his eyes and some of those who listened wept with him.

It was, perhaps, the speech that no one has spared him the personal embarrassment and acute political danger that come with the long-awaited release of a devastating report from his former, independent counsel Robert Starr. History will judge the many have-beens, and future chroniclers of the Clinton presidency are bound to wonder whether the kind of far-reaching admissions of guilt and terrible apology he made last Friday could have come from the earliest days of his tenure if he had made it when the scandal broke in January. But when it finally came, it really had to wait. Starr’s 41-page report was made public by the House of Representatives. For weeks, Washington had been mired in rumors that the document would not only lay out grounds for impeaching Clinton, but also be replete with bungles, trials and hollowness—all with Lewinsky the outcome. White House warn’t it did not disappoint. Starr concluded there are 21 grounds for impeaching Clinton, involving perjury, obstruction of justice, witness tampering and abuse of power. The President, he argued, engaged in seven串 of conduct at nothing less than “a strategy of involving the American people and Congress.”

The salacious material was all there, too—page after legal page of it, enough to make parents turn off the TV news and hide the newspaper from their children. With hindsight, use of Clinton’s longest castration was to stand on Aug. 27, when he testified before Starr’s grand jury, that he had been “legally accounted” when he denied having sexual relations with Lewinsky. That gave Starr’s investigators an opening to explore in excruciating detail exactly what did go on behind closed doors between the President and the intern. Three days after Clinton’s testimony, they called Lewinsky, now 25, back to the grand jury and questioned her closely about her physical contacts with the man she liked to call “Buddy.”

The result is surely one of the most bizarre documents ever issued by a government agency. For several pages, filling dry legalese with eye-popping revelations, Starr’s report lays out the contours of what happened. 10 hours’ encounters in a study, Anthony and Barbara’s apartment in the Oval Office, Lewinsky performing oral sex on Clinton while the President was talking on the phone to congressional泰山, late-night talk show hosts have piled for weeks, sex involving one of Clinton’s daughters.

It is, even the President’s defenders acknowledged, a nail-biting, strongly antisexual story that is nonetheless more serious—gruesome for revealing the most powerful man in the world from a filth. All that work, in the end, for releasing Starr’s report to an congressional and senatorial aisle, an increasingly anxious mass about their heavy responsibility “Next to deciding war,” said Ted Kennedy, the Democrats’ leader in the House of Representatives, “this may be the most important thing that we do.” The House judiciary committee was charged with reviewing Starr’s evidence—38 white boxes containing two copies of his report and thousands of pages of supporting documents and tapes. It was the beginning of a process that could eventually lead to removing the President from office. Not in a quarter of a century, since Richard Nixon was forced to resign the presidency in the Watergate scandal, had Washington felt events march so seemingly out of control.

But since the speculation was over and Starr’s report was finally public, there was another question: Is it all about the Bill and Monica story? Conservative analysts had suggested that Starr, after digging for more than four years into the warped web of controversies known as Whitewater, would put Clinton’s adulterous misdeeds into a wider context of abuse of power; going back to the earliest days of his presidency, Starr himself had made this pattern-of-abuse argument in testimony to gaining permission, from the judicial panel that appointed him, to expand his probe to Lewinsky.

But in his report, Starr only goes on to decide later how to deal with the other scandals. The document focuses entirely on what he claims is Clinton’s wrongdoing in the Lewinsky affair. The President, Starr charges, lied five times under oath about his relationship with the intern, circumventing justice by concealing evidence about the relationship, lied to influence the testimony of his secretary, Betty Currie, and, other witnesses before Starr’s grand jury, abdicated the power of his office by impeding the grand jury looking into the affair and “made false statements to the American people.” When he publicly denied having a sexual relationship with Lewinsky this, Starr maintains, “represents substantial and credible information that may constitute grounds for an impeachment.”

But does it? Even before Starr’s report was released, Clinton was counterattacking on two fronts. First, with his unre-

“I certainly didn’t want this to come out, if I could help it. I was embarrassed about it. I knew it was wrong.”



“I never expected to fall in love with the President. I was surprised that I did.”

**LOMELLY TIME:**  
Hillary Clinton outside the White House after Stein delivered his speech; Clinton, on video (right), keeping Lomelley at a distance on stage



served apology at the press conference, he continued his campaign for public leniency. And though he insisted that "legal language must not obscure the fact that I have done wrong," his lawyers were firing back with a new barrage of legal language. David Kendall, his personal lawyer, continued to argue that the President did not technically propose himself when he swore under oath last January that he did not have a sexual relationship with Lewinsky—only claiming to Clinton's much-quoted contention that such practices as oral sex do not constitute "incestuous relations."

At the same time, Kendall outlined what will be the White House's main approach: that all State Dept. "management" decisions will be driven by the prime fact that people engaged in extreme right-shades are not to do a lot to those from moderate to liberal shades. He said: "I'll always do



**The tale is tawdry, but is it enough to remove the world's most powerful man from office?**

Since, despite his ride, nothing but an independent counsel, he is politically ostracized, they say, and not to bring down the President at any cost. Nothing, in its report, Knobell claimed, suggests that any wrongdoing Clinton committed had anything to do with the services' failure of saving the country. This is to Watergate, he, in effect, according. Nixon violated the power of the federal government under his judicial exercise. Clinton, even if Star's version of events is well-justified, says Knobell, "The relevant allegations in this referral," says Knobell, "we might conclude, last minute, vindictive and politically damage the President. That is personal and not impeachable."

What constitutes an impeachable offense, however, is open to interpretation of the American political system. The constitution says only that a president may be removed for "treason, bribery or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Legal scholars extrapolate conduct in other areas that involves no crime, may also be grounds for impeachment. Ultimately, Congress will decide whether Clinton deserves to face any of those charges. And if that, they will ultimately be determined by public reaction to the history交代 by Starr in a 280-page narrative of the Clinton-Lewinsky liaison. Americans may have learned long ago that their presidents are all too human, but they never the presidents—and may be repelled by what they hear and read. The politicians were clearly warning us to see how voters will react once they get their minds fully abuzz on the graphic picture of a president engaged in fornication with a young employee just outside the office used by the likes of Lincoln and Roosevelt.

That explained why so few congressmen and senators had much to say publicly after the report was released. Those who did were pre-

## The chemistry of ‘Handsome’ and ‘Sweetie’

*Independent counsel Kenneth Starr says his report had to go into explicit detail about the relationship between President Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky to counter Clinton's carefully crafted denials of having had sexually distinct "unusual relations" with the former White House intern. The result is a sober government document that often reads like a literary novel.*

SEX AND LOVE

According to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President had 58 sexual encounters, eight while she worked at the White House and two thereafter. The sexual encounters generally occurred in or near the phone study of the Oval Office—often after the windowsless hallway outside the study. During many of their sexual encounters, the President stood leaning against the doorway of the bathroom screen from the study, which, he told Ms. Lewinsky, made her more lascivious.

Ms. Lewinsky testified that her physical relationship with the President included oral sex but not sexual intercourse. According to Ms. Lewinsky, she performed oral sex on the President; he never performed oral sex on her. Initially, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President would let her perform oral sex in competition to Ms. Lewinsky's understanding, his refusal was related to "trust and not knowing me well enough." During their last two sexual encounters, both in 1997, he did ejaculate.

Otherwise the President testified that "what began as a friendship came to include [intimate contact]."<sup>1</sup> Ms. Lewinsky explained that the relationship moved in the opposite direction: "[T]he emotional and friendship aspects... developed after the beginning of our sexual relationship." As the relationship developed over time, Ms. Lewinsky grew emotionally attached to President Clinton. She testified: "I was

They were physically affectionate. "A lot of hugging, holding hands sometimes. He always used to push the hair out of my face." She called him "Handsome"; an ex-

casion, he called her "Sweetie," "Baby," or sometimes "Dale." He told her that he enjoyed talking to her—he recalled his saying that the two of them were "emotive and full of fire," and she made him feel young. He said he wished he could spend more time with her.

Ms. Lewinsky told transfixed fans the emotional understandings of the relationship as it evolved. According to her mother, Muriel Lewis, the President once told Ms. Lewinsky that she "had been hurt a lot or something by different men and that he would be her friend who would help her, not hurt her." According to Ms. Lewinsky's friend Mayra Pindell, President Clinton was enthralled in Ms. Lewinsky but that he was uncertain whether he would remain married after he left the White House. He said in essence, "I'll know which will happen. Four years

1990-1991 Academic Year

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With Mr. Lewinsky and the President, they took steps to maintain the secrecy of the relationship. In his grand jury testimony, the President confirmed his efforts to keep their liaison secret. He said he did not want the facts of their relationship to be disclosed. "In my estimation," he said, "I certainly didn't want it to come out, if I could help it. And I was concerned about that; I was embarrassed about it if I knew it was wrong."

For her visits to see the President, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "[T]here was always some sort of cover." When visiting the President while she worked at the White House, she generally pleased to tell anyone who asked (including Senate office staff and agents) that she was delivering papers to the President. Ms. Lewinsky explained that this audience may have originated when "I got there kind of seeping. 'OK, Mrs. Givens, here are your letters,' walk, walk, walk, and her saying, 'OK, that's good.'"

After their first two sexual encounters during the November, 1986, government shutdown, according to Mr. Lewinsky, her encounters with the President generally occurred on weekends, when fewer people were in the West Wing. According to Mr. Lewinsky, the President was concerned that the two of them might be spotted through a White House window. Mr. Lewinsky testified that, on Dec. 28, 1997, "when I was getting my Christmas kiss" in the doorway to the study, the President was "holding" out the window with his arms wide open while he was kissing me and then I got mad because it was very soreness." He responded, "Well, I was just looking to see to make sure no one was out there."

#### **GETTING TOGETHER**

Ms. Lewinsky testified that Wed. Nov. 15, 1995—the second day of the government shutdown—marked the beginning of her sexual relationship with the President. At one point, Ms. Lewinsky and the President talked alone in the Chief of Staff's office. In the course of flirting with him, she raised her jacket in the neck and showed him the straps of her bra underneath, which extended above her pants.

See section for other recommendations about 8-paths.

she passed George Stephanopoulos's office. The President was inside alone, and he beckoned her to enter. She told him that she had a crush on him. He laughed, then asked if she would like to see his private office. Through a connecting door in Mr. Stephanopoulos's office, they were through the President's private dining room toward the study off the Oval Office. Ms. Lewinsky testified: "We talked briefly and sort of acknowledged that there had been a chemistry that was there before and that we were both attracted to each other and then he asked me if he could kiss me." Ms. Lewinsky said yes. In the whispering gallery adjacent to the study, they kissed. After returning to her desk, Ms. Lewinsky wrote down her name and telephone number for the President.

At about 30 p.m., in Mr. Stephanopoulos's office, she was alone in the Chief of Staff's office and the President approached. He invited her to reenter his office again in Mr. Stephanopoulos's office. In a few minutes, and she agreed. Asked if she knew why the President wanted to meet with her, Ms. Lewinsky testified: "I had an idea." They met in Mr. Stephanopoulos's office and went again to the area of the private study. This time the lights in the study were off.

According to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President kissed. She whitewashed her jacket; either she unbuttoned her belt or he lifted her top; and he touched her breasts with his hands and mouth. Ms. Lewinsky testified: "I believe he took a phone call . . . and we moved from the hallway into the back of . . . [he] put his head down my pants and stimulated me sexually in the genital area." While the President continued talking on the phone (Ms. Lewinsky understood that the caller was a member of Congress or a Senator), she performed oral sex on him. He finished his call, and, a mere instant later, told Ms. Lewinsky to stop. In her recollection, "I told him that I wanted . . . to complete that. And he said . . . that he needed to walk until he trusted me more. And then I think he made a joke . . . that he hadn't had that in a long time."

**BLOSSOMING FRIENDSHIP** On Sun., Feb. 4, according to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President had their sixth

sexual encounter and their first lengthy and passionate conversation. After their sexual encounter, the President and Ms. Lewinsky sat and talked in the Oval Office for about 45 minutes. Ms. Lewinsky thought the President ought to respond to her suggestion during their previous meeting about "try[ing] to get to know me." It was during that conversation on Feb. 4, according to Ms. Lewinsky, that their friendship started to blossom.

#### BREAKING UP—BRIEFLY

According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President terminated their relationship (only temporarily, as it happened), on Mon., Feb. 25, 1996. President's Day. In Mr. Lewinsky's recollection, the President tele-

phoned her in the evening, they could not get her telephone. Mrs. Lewinsky testified that the call "sort of implied to me that he was interested in starting up again."

#### THE CIGAR

On Sun., March 23, 1997, according to Ms. Lewinsky, she and the President resumed their sexual contact. Mrs. Clinton was in Ireland. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President telephoned her at her desk and suggested that she come to the Oval Office on the pretense of delivering papers to her. She went to the Oval Office and was admitted by a plainclothes Secret Service agent, in her folder was a gift for the President, a Hugo Boss necktie.

In the hallway by the study, the President and Ms. Lewinsky kissed. On this occasion, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "I focused on me pretty exclusively," kissing her boss's breasts and trailing her tongue. At one point, the President inserted a cigar into Ms. Lewinsky's vagina, then put the cigar in his mouth and said: "It tastes good."

#### BREAKING UP FOR GOOD

On Sat., May 24, 1997, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the President ended their intimate relationship. Ms. Lewinsky arrived wearing a black hat with the hot pin the President had given her and bringing gifts for her, including a purple and a blue-and-white striped shirt. She gave him the gifts in the dining room, and they walked to the area of the study. According to Ms. Lewinsky, the President explained that they had to end their intimate relationship. Earlier in his marriage, he had lied, he had had hundreds of affairs; but since turning 40, he had made a concerted effort to be faithful. He told her he was attracted to Ms. Lewinsky, considered her a good person, and hoped they would remain friends. He pointed out that he could do a great deal for her. The situation, he stressed, was not Ms. Lewinsky's fault. Ms. Lewinsky, weeping, tried to persuade the President not to end the sexual relationship, but he was unyielding, then and subsequently. Although she and the President kissed and hedged thereafter, according to Ms. Lewinsky, the sexual relationship was over.



IN THE OVAL OFFICE: Clinton and Lewinsky made his last young

phoned her at her Watergate apartment that day. From the tone of his voice, she could tell something was wrong. She asked to come see him.

The President told her that he no longer felt right about their intimate relationship, and he had to part it a step at a time. Ms. Lewinsky was welcome to continue coming to visit him, but only as a friend. He begged her but would not kiss her.

After the breakup on Feb. 25, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "There continued to sort of be the flirtation . . . when we'd see each other." After passing Ms. Lewinsky in a hallway one night in late February or March, the President telephoned her at home and said he was disappointed that, because she had already left the

# 'This process can steamroll out of control'

White House for the evening, they could not get her telephone. Mrs. Lewinsky testified that the call "sort of implied to me that he was interested in starting up again."

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And then he made a joke . . . that he hadn't had that in a long time."

Two nights later, as the men returned late again during the shutdown, they had another encounter. Clinton's secretary, Betty Currie, ushered Lewinsky into the Oval Office after she said she had a favor for the President. They went to the study study again, and while Clinton was on the phone with another congressional Lewinsky again performed oral sex on him—but stopped before what Starr's report refers to as "coupling." By this third encounter, on New Year's Eve, 1995, Lewinsky worried that he would never let her go. He assured her that he did know her name and again took her into his study for oral sex.

The fourth encounter was similar encounters on Jan. 7, 1996, and the well-known civil rights leader, Rep. John Lewis. "It's quite possible that the information, and the way in which it was released, could bring the President the opportunity to have a fair process."

This time, she set it up. Starr's investigation is an compelling and lucid narrative that weaves from what Lewinsky at first worried was just an "intimate contact" to something that, for her at least, must have been mutual masturbation. Starr's report confirms much of what was already known through news reports and loads of testimony to Starr's grand jury, and adds details—such as the fact that it was Clinton himself who told Lewinsky that she would be called as a witness in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case in a phone call to her Washington apartment at 2 a.m. last Dec. 17. The harrowing photo of a young woman determined to win the affections of a powerful man, and a man who had a family, laid the groundwork for her ambitions but was oblivious to all the years of harassment. Carol Star, who first heard of the Lewinsky liaison from her one-time friend Leslie Tipton, declined to include a copy of her book in the document the President's attorney filed his report in January. "The evidence of the President's perjury is so clear," he wrote, "it need not be presented without specific, explicit and painless disclosure of some witnesses."

Lewinsky went to work as a 21-year-old intern of the White House in 1995, and soon began what she called "intense wiring" with the President, making eye contact and arranging to meet him as often as possible. Their relationship turned physical on Nov. 13, when she told Starr, while the federal government was all wound down as part of a short shutdown between the White House and Congress, that she was working in the West Wing of the White House, which also contains the President's office. He summoned her into another office, and she told him she had a crush on him. Later he took her to his private study adjacent to the Oval Office. Starr said her and his hand down her pants. She performed oral sex on him—even while the two phone calls from two congressmen, Clinton and Starr, had been made to each other. Clinton said, "He liked it and I liked it more."

For Lewinsky, at least, it wasn't just physical. As their relationship



MAKING THE CASE: Independent counsel Starr accuses Clinton of engaging in a strategy of deceiving the American people and Congress

last fall. But you, but they spoke to her, referred to her as "Johnnie" in the Pentagon. On April 7, Easter Sunday, she presented oral sex on him for the photo, having what Lewinsky characterized as "an intimate conversation with the President." On Feb. 26, he grappled with her for the first time, kissing the navy-blue dress she wore, which became a key piece of physical evidence. Lewinsky later turned it over to Starr's investigators for testing. They matched DNA from it with a blood sample from Clinton and confirmed the match.

During his grand jury testimony on Aug. 27, Clinton was asked about that encounter and said: "I was sick after it was over and I was pleased that that if I had been really a year since my contraceptive took effect I wouldn't have done it if I wasn't going to happen again." If that is true, according to Lewinsky, on more than one occasion on Mar. 23, Clinton again naked her intimate relationship. He asked her to visit him in the Oval Office, and told her that early in his marriage he had hundreds of affairs, "but since turning 40 he had made a concerted effort to be faithful."

For Lewinsky, at least, it wasn't just physical. As their relationship

developed, she said, investigators she grew emotionally attached to Clinton. "I never expected to fall in love with the President. I was surprised that I did." At times, she said, she believed he shared her feelings. She called him "handsome," he called her "Sweetie," "Baby," sometimes, "Dear." A friend of Lewinsky's, Neysa Erdmann, told Starr's grand jury that Monica held on to a romantic notion of her relationship. Lewinsky told her that Clinton had confided that he was not sure he would remain married after he left the White House. "He said in essence, 'Who knows what will happen four years from now when I am out of office?'" Mrs. Lewinsky thought, according to Ms. Erdmann, that "maybe she will be his wife."

All that, of course, is irrelevant—or perhaps not—but it transformed Starr into the subject of a possible impeachment inquiry as Starr alleges—that Clinton tried to lie, repeatedly by distorting the relationship and presenting the grand jury from getting at the truth. And, Starr charged, Clinton pursued himself by lying about his deposition in the Paula Jones lawsuit in January, again saying when he testified before the grand jury in August. In January, he denied having "sexual relations" with Lewinsky. Following a months-long investigation, he admitted to her that he had infatuated, touching another person's private genitalia, more than once, giving oral or fellatio "with an intent to arouse or gratify the sexual desire of any person."

Later, before the grand jury, he argued that a person receiving oral sex was not covered by that definition—accepting that his lawyer confined to stand by his word. And, Starr said, Clinton lied again in January by saying he did not recall being alone with Lewinsky, or exchanging gifts with her. But this may well be the toughest area for Clinton's lawyers to argue. The best they could do last week was to claim that "he gave narrow answers to ambiguous questions."

The rest of Starr's allegations are equally grave. He says Clinton obstructed justice by agreeing with Lewinsky to keep their relationship secret when they were called to give depositions in the Paula Jones case, and that they concocted elaborate "cover stories" to conceal their liaison—such as pretending that she was really visiting his

secretary, Currie, when she came to the West Wing. Clinton's lawyers say he was just trying to conceal a secret, as any married man might do. Starr says Clinton arranged with Lewinsky to conceal gifts he had given her that were subpoenaed by Jones's lawyers, by having Currie pick up the gifts from her apartment. Clinton's cargo accusations that it was Lewinsky who asked Currie to hold the gifts, and the President never discussed them, Starr says Clinton tried to get Lewinsky a job in New York City through his friend Vernon Jordan so that she would be out of Washington where the Jones case proceeded. Clinton's lawyers say it was Currie who put Lewinsky in touch with Jordan. And Starr claims that Clinton tried to influence Currie's

all that,

and

but



**KEY PLAYERS:** According to Starr, Washington lawyer Vernon Jordan (top left) got Lewinsky a job in New York City to hatch her up Clinton's secretary Betty Currie (above) is caught up in a dispute over his gifts to the intern. Linda Tripp (left) started it all by taping Lewinsky's phone calls.

## THE ULTIMATE TEST

**T**he delivery of special prosecutor Kenneth Starr's report on Bill Clinton to the U.S. Congress set in motion a process that is both legalistic and highly political. It involves ensuring the often-torpedoed goal: "impeachment?" Under the U.S. Constitution, the word does not mean removal of the American president. Impeachment is the decision by the House of Representatives to charge him with treason, bribery or "other high crimes and misdemeanors," and send him to the Senate for trial. But the Constitution's authors deliberately avoided defining what these other offenses might be, so it is up to Congress to decide what kind of behavior is beyond the pale. As they consider Clinton's fate, members of both houses will have several opportunities to end the process we'll start off his removal. November's mid-term Congressional elections may also play a role, both chambers seem destined to return under Republican control, but a change in numbers could affect key votes. Here are the potential stages Clinton faces.

**STEP ONE: The House Judiciary Committee.** The 36-member committee, chaired by Illinois Republican Henry Hyde, will make the initial decision on what to do with Starr's report. If a majority of its 21 Republicans and 15 Democrats agree, it will launch hearings into Starr's charges. Witnesses from Linda Tripp to Monica Lewinsky would be asked to repeat their previous closed-door testimony in front of the world's television cameras. That spectacle, likely to begin early in the new year, could take months. At the end of it, the committee would decide whether to draw up articles of impeachment—the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors—since treason and corruption are not on the list. Such proceedings would require a simple majority to go to the full House.

**STEP TWO: The House of Representatives.** Its 435 members would deliberate—no doubt at length—on each of the articles of impeachment. Then they would take the momentous vote—against whom?—to determine whether to impeach Clinton or to let the charges stand.

**STEP THREE: The Senate.** The House impeached Clinton, the 100-member upper chamber would hold a full courtroom-style trial, presided over by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Again, the full panoply of witnesses would testify, again, the process would take weeks or months. After that, it would require a vote of two-thirds of the senators present to convict Clinton and remove him from office. But few analysts think things will go that far. It is true that in 1968 President Andrew Johnson fought out the only Senate trial to far—and escaped conviction by one vote, but the modern precedent was set in 1974 by Richard Nixon, who resigned over the Watergate scandal after the judiciary committee voted for three articles of impeachment and his support in both houses evaporated. If today's Congress shows a similar determination to go all the way—still a very big if—Clinton would almost surely choose to leave office on his own

BENTON WOODWARD

to operate with the grand jury, and lying again on Aug. 27 when he finally testified. Nowhere, say the President's lawyers, does the law involve legal privilege in a letter of intent to protect himself and the presidency from an out-elected president. In a second rebuttal on Wednesday, Clinton's lawyers again charged that Starr's legalistic interpretation has turned up nothing of substance—"after investigating virtually every aspect of the President's business, financial, political, official and otherwise, personal life."

In coming weeks, the two houses will endlessly bicker back and forth on House judiciary committee whether to launch a formal impeachment inquiry. It plans to release most of Starr's evidence after reviewing it—some of the sample of pages of ground-jury testimony already in the Senate for viewing purposes, with the 43 Democratic senators in attendance to protest his defiance while the 21 Republicans urge quick disclosure.

For Clinton, much will turn on how well, will depend on how the public reacts to Starr's revelations. Two major polls, taken shortly after the report was released, showed the President's approval rating holding steady at around 60 percent. His best argument will be the one originally: what he did was wrong, but it's really enough to justify the massive cost of creating a president? His old lawyer puts it this way last week: "The question is whether there is evidence here to overturn and annul the judgment of the people of the United States, who not once but twice elected this man President of the United States." In that, congressional action will be heavily aware of swings in the public mood. Democrats on Capitol Hill, in particular, fear an early test. Clinton has never cultivated close relationships with them, and the Nov. 3 midterm elections of recent have taught congressional leaders that have damaged their Analytics predict the Democrats will lose 10 to 20 seats in the House, and as many as five in the Senate, at least partly because of the Monica effect. Democratic sources say, they are likely to stay at home while outraged Republicans switch their focus to the polls opposite the balance in many close races.

Clinton, the perennial Comeback Kid, will doubtless try to mount the comeback of all time. For him, it's a matter of high political and personal redemption. At last week's prayer breakfast, he quoted at length from the Gates of Repentance, a book used during Son Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement. "For us, turning does not end in us," he said. "It means turning old habits. It means admitting we have been wrong. It means letting face. It means starting all over again." He sounded like a really nice guy—but the question is whether, for him, it is much too little too late.



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# A pursuer who would not quit

**K**enneth Starr may look nothing like Dan Quayle—he's bespectacled and professional, seen a vast array of men in television clips clutching a small map of Starbucks coffee, getting into his car outside his modest Virginia home to go to work. He also enjoys taking long walks in the countryside, sipping beer and thwacking trout passengers from the table at a sort of country-inn hotel he stayed in childhood as the son of a strict Catholic minister. But in the words of President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, the moral prosecutor is far equivalent—or worse—of the shadowy master of the Dark Side. “He’s a zealot, not a prosecutor,” the President has raged in anger. Clinton could not bring himself to snipe at Starr at his January 17 re-enactment of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. Even in 1996, when Ken Starr was out to get him, Clinton retorted, “Don’t be obvious.”

That was not the case in 1994, when Starr was chosen by a panel of Republicans to investigate the Clintons over allegations about their designs on a rural Arkansas property known as Whitewater. Then, Starr was seen as a strident fellow who taught Sunday school and cracked his daughter’s softball line. The White House counsel at the time, Albie Milano, assured the Clintons that the conservative Starr was a fine man who would be decent and fair. He seemed a law unto his representatives. Milano was at the opposite end of the political spectrum but had served with Starr on the U.S. Appeals Court in Washington. Other Starr colleagues had no qualms. Two years earlier, after an investigation of sexual misconduct by Republican Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon, Starr was selected by both Senate Republicans and Democrats to review the senator’s criminal finances. Starr’s judgments led to Packwood’s resignation from the Senate.

But the Clintons soon came to have a very different view, as Starr relentlessly pursued his investigation of Whitewater and more scandalously as Travolta—the dung of White House travel after staff—and Plagler, when considerate personnel files on illegal political offshoots from the Stevens and Bush administrations were obtained by the Clinton White House. Both Starr had a cordial relationship with the Clintons, but they found on the Trail Lucy and her law firm research Whitewater he had long sought from her mysteriously turned up at the White House residence in January 1995. In a dramatic confrontation, Starr subpoenaed her to appear before his grand jury in Washington. She claimed my wrongdoing, including taking documents or obstructing justice and she did not know how the records surfaced.

Leaders say Starr has come to regard the Clintons as roughnecks

over their heads. But although Starr handed down several indictments in the Whitewater scandal—including one against former associate attorney general and close Clinton friend Webster Hubbell—the Clintons remained elusive quarry. Then came Monica Lewinsky—and the opportunity to go to the left. His Justice Staff gained permission from the panel of judges—and Clinton’s Attorney General Janet Reno—to expand his probe. The battle with the first couple—culminating finally in Hillary Clinton’s deposition—Starr as “a politically motivated prosecutor who is allied with the right-wing opponents of my husband.”

Starr insists he believes Starr part of the First Family might have been lenient, but they never used their spin machine as harshly. “The White House has waged a war to destroy Ken Starr,” says Theodore Olson, a friend of Starr who was an assistant attorney general in Ronald Reagan’s administration. “Unless the job is done under extraordinarily difficult circumstances.” Another Reaganite in the fed and justice department official, Terry Bradshaw, has similar sympathy: “This is the first modern political campaign ever run against an independent counsel, a war-worn campaign,” says

leaders say Starr has come to regard the Clintons as roughnecks



Bashford. “And he can’t respond because of the nature of his job.”

The White House has also mounted charges, which Starr must now defend himself against in court, that he leaked information about the Lewinsky investigation to reporters. “There is a horizon dimension,” says Stephen Goldfarb, a professor of legal ethics at New York University School of Law. “The White House strategy of denouncing Ken Starr has probably had the effect of encouraging him to resist the attack, yet all the information he could and now file the best report he can.”

As Starr examined the Clinton’s lives, he became increasingly disenchanted. Friends describe him as a decent man, deeply influenced by his strict religious upbringing in the small southern town of Thackerville, Okla. He was likely dismasted, they say, by the President’s adultery and lying that would not have met evidence he believed flew in the face of a serious legal infraction.

That is the view of former judge Robert Beck, who served with Starr on the Court of Appeals for the Washington circuit. “His personality is that of a zealot,” says Beck. “He is a cautious and prudent honest man.” One of Starr’s qualifications would say nothing to his obsessive thoroughness. The energetic independent counsel, who is known to leave voice-mail messages for people of his acquaintance, has spent some 800 million probing Clinton over more than four years. He means to follow the law wherever it leads, whatever the outcome. His engraver is by the book. But he possesses, friends say, a spirit when it comes to political maneuvering.

Nonetheless, his career has combined his superior legal skills and his pristine legal policies. After graduating from Duke University Law School, he clerked for a federal judge in Miami and later, chief justice Warren Burger. He was known as a turnaround man, determined to convert a recalcitrant Republican. To his old life, he was working in Stevens’ justice department, writing opinions such as Sandra Day O’Connor’s on the Supreme Court and Bush for the Derner of Columbia circuit. When Bush, a Reagan power broker, became his life appointment to the D.C. circuit, his mind had long been on other goals: Supreme Court nomination. He was deeply disappointed to get instead president George Bush, though he was named solicitor general, the government’s top lawyer who argues cases before the high court. After Bush lost his reelection bid in 1992, Starr joined the Washington law firm of Kirkland & Ellis as an annual salary of \$1.6 million. He also considered a run for the Senate in Virginia.

Though he opted to stay out of the 1996 Senate race, he remained involved in Republican politics by contributing to candidates and joining the boards of several conservative groups headed by Clinton foes. Some analysts speculated he accepted the job of Whitewater counsel to remain in the public eye. And his critics—including, of course, the Clintons—see him as a political creature, wedded to right-wing causes and the law. Until recently, he confined his job at Kirkland & Ellis, representing such clients as the Brown & Williamson tobacco company. He

has also made speeches in highly partisan audiences. Ethics counsel for Senator Dash, the moderate Senate Washington Committee chair (and whom Starr tried to try to quiet critics), identified that, while “pro-mr. Starr’s activities could be seen as having an ‘ideological’ purpose.”

Perhaps the biggest stigma comes when Starr sharply announced last year that he was seeking a job as special prosecutor in head a new School of Public Policy at Fogelman University in Malibu, Calif. Critics argued that this was further evidence of his right-wing connections. The chair was financed by Richard Mellon Scaife, a supporter of conservative causes and a leading partner of Whitewater conspirators.



UNLOADING A BOMBHELL: Capitol Hill police transfer the Starr inquiry's 96 boxes to Congress

## Friends say Ken Starr is honest and diligent, but critics see him as a right-wing zealot

theories, including the notion that Vincent Foster, the former deputy White House counsel, was murdered. Slain by the critics? Starr ticked off the Preposterous Job.

Throughout, Starr has singly pressed on, confounding his real feelings only to his closest advisors and his family—Alice, his wife of 38 years, and their three children: a son in college and two daughters in high school. Alice Starr has described the last few months of the investigation as a nightmare—particularly the attacks on her husband. At 65, the formerly tony Mrs. Starr, Despite its wealth, the family lives in a modest house in McLean, Va., an upscale Washington suburb. She maintains as much normalcy as possible, that is, difficult, though, with TV cameras constantly camped out in the driveway. They are likely to stay for some time. But Starr’s inquiry has now shifted to Congress. His legal team at all times— and he himself will likely be judged on the outcome. Ultimately he struggle with Clinton may be decided by which side the public believes to be the real force from the Dark Side.

LOUISE BRANSON in Washington



# A tinge of Red

A compromise premier gets Communist backing

In the end, Boris Yeltsin bluffed first. After the Communist-dominated parliament twice rejected his first choice for prime minister, the Russian president performed an unorthodox act: he backed down. Abandoning an effort to recruit legalista Viktor Chernomyrdin, he nominated Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov as a compromise candidate. The Duma responded quickly to the Kremlin's white flag. It overwhelmingly confirmed the squatting devout socialist, handing him the job of reviving a country in deep economic crisis. The Communists anticipated that Primakov would return the coldest economy to greater state control. But Primakov, who at 68 is one year older than the president he serves, provided little indication of the course he would follow—he began promising “to continue economic and political reforms in Russia.”

His elevation delivered a dangerous confirmation. Arguments on both sides had invoked the spectre of widespread social strife and even civil war. The final round entombed the political life of oil sheikhs-turned-Yeltsin, who has been under pressure to resign before his term ends in 2000. His likely successors, including Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov and popular former general Alexander Lebed, stood away from the politically risky task of trying to revive the country’s shattered finances. Like them, Primakov is no economist. But, unlike them, he has no apparent ambition to take Yeltsin’s place and no ties to the wealthy tycoons who control much of Russia’s resources. He is instead widely welcomed among a popular stratum in his fold with deeply desired rule. “For most Russians, his appointment is a step towards regaining stability,” said Igor Shashoua, the director of a Moscow research center.

The appointment was evoked some 60 km northwest of Moscow on the road to St. Petersburg. In a trailer with no running water or vacuum toilets, a dozen drivers, mechanics, wooden huts, people, discussed politics while not overlooking one of the country’s strongest against forces: the small, privately owned plots of land needed for some time half the food produced in Russia. Sergei Petrenko, a retired tractor mechanist, wasn’t counting on the government changes to reverse an often-delayed process that as dissolved rubles was now worth about \$50 a month. He was

more concerned about gloomy official predictions that the grain and potato harvests would be sharply down across Russia this fall. “It’s been wet here this summer and half the potatoes I planted are rotten,” he said. “The next round should see me through the winter.”

As for Primakov, well, he’s an old hand who can’t have some idea how to get things done



Primakov (left) with Yeltsin: the squatting populist and the appointment as a step towards stability

“He’s been in the government forever.” Versatility, flexibility and loyalty have allowed Primakov to rise. He was brought along from Soviet director Leonid Brezhnev through interlocutor Mikhail Gorbachev to the census. Yeltsin. During the past 20 years, he

has gained trust in positions in the Middle East, correspondents for the Communist party-state. From its roots in the 1960s, Primakov, who speaks Arabic as well as English, has extended contacts to the Middle East and a widely recognized status of Russia’s major on the region. One of the 1991 Gulf War’s chief negotiators, he flew to Baghdad to assist in a face-saving exit from Kuwait for Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The attempt failed, but through his efforts, Moscow has kept its ties and influence with rulers in the area.

His appointment as foreign minister two

years ago signalled a shift from the generally pro-Western line Russia had taken since the 1991 Soviet collapse. Nonetheless its applauded as Pravda suddenly resisted NATO’s continued expansion towards its country’s borders. But he was careful to build what has become a closer working relationship with U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. In fact, some analysts say current Pravda editor Viktor Lenov, Primakov always has a quip or an anecdote. “He is known and is well liked throughout the country,” says Lenov. “And he can use the connections he’s built up with thousands of people over the years.”

Now, carried into office on a wave of respect, Primakov must put together a team that will compensate for his lack of economic expertise. Financial moneys had a distinct



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Phot by Steve Stigman

#### IRAN BLAMES TALIBAN

Iran said it will hold Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia and the government of Pakistan responsible for the murder of nine Iranian diplomats. Iran claims the rioters stormed west the Taliban, a Pakistan-backed Sunni Muslim force that controls most of the country, overthrew two Shi'a Muslim strongholds in central Afghanistan. A Taliban spokesman blamed the murders on soldiers who acted on their own. The incident prompted a massive buildup of Iranian military might, including 70,000 troops, on the Afghan border. Taliban officials said that Iran, a largely Shi'a nation, resented the right to "defend itself."

#### ADAMS MEETS TRIMBLE

Sitting side-by-side of retired and successor, Northern Ireland Protestant leader David Trimble and Gerry Adams, head of the political wing of the Catholic-based Irish Republican Army, spoke to each other for the first time. Trimble, head of the new government created under April's historic peace accord, and Adams came away from a 45-minute private meeting sounding hopeful that their fundamental differences could be narrowed. The two admitted, however, that they did not shake hands.

#### THE SON RISES

Kim Jong Il was revered to the "highest post of the state" as the head of Communist North Korea's 13-million-strong military. Kim, known as the country's "Dear Leader," took over leadership of the so-called Marxist nation after the 1994 death of his father, long-time president and "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung, long before it had been expected to be named chairman, but the Supreme People's Assembly instead elected his late father "eternal president" and enhanced the son's status. Analysts believe Jong Il has now consolidated control of the country.

#### CONGO FIGHTING RAGES

Foress loyal to Congo's President Laurent Kabila have tried to subdue a six-month-old insurrection after rebels who were considered key leaders of the former eastern Congo. Rebels, some pretensions called for new socialist bombings against the Jewish state, Israeli officials said. Adol Aboim, who masterminded several suicide bombings, while Israel Aboim was a leading Hamas military figure who escaped and Rwanda.



Tragedy among anti-Mahathir protesters in Jakarta, Indonesia, a former food crisis

## Political storms across Asia

Tension rose across Southeast Asia as the economic crisis gripping the region triggered calls for democratic reforms. In Indonesia thousands of students clashed with police and the army as they staged demonstrations demanding the resignation of President B. J. Habibie. There were few injuries, but analysts said a major disturbance seemed inevitable as poverty worsened and food prices continued to soar. Nachy Wardha, the island nation's 200 million people, can no longer afford even a minimum supply of rice. "The food issue is now the No. 1 problem," said Wardha, a Jakarta economist. "It's very explosive."

As Habibie fought to stay in power, another key leader was under pressure in neighboring Malaysia. Earlier this month, long-ruling Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad set off protests when he fired Anwar Ibrahim, his heir apparent and the country's respected finance

minister, in a dispute over dealing with the economic crisis. Throughout the week, Anwar's supporters maintained a vigil outside his home, shouting Mahathir to arrest his former deputy, who is now being investigated on a number of allegations, including treason and his sexuality. Mahathir and his wife would not accept his rival and foreign reporters covering the current crisis with Govees in Kuala Lumpur since the country.

In Indonesia, meanwhile, thousands took to the streets of Palembang to demand the resignation of Prime Minister Hanafi Sen. They were protesting an violent crackdown on protesters who disrupted the roads of elections he ultimately won in July earlier. And in Burma, concern about similar unrest led its military rulers to round up more than 100 supporters of Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League for Democracy.

#### Trouble over Hamas

Widespread rioting broke out on the West Bank after Israeli security forces killed two brothers who were considered key leaders of the Islamic extremist group Hamas. Some protesters called for new suicide bombings against the Jewish state, Israeli officials said. Adol Aboim, who masterminded several suicide bombings, while Israel Aboim was a leading Hamas military figure who escaped and Rwanda.

From Lebanon's civil war to being held an suspicion of masterminding another Hamas uprising. The pair were killed along with a brother who was one of those who killed their three-year-old son, Hassan. Afterwards, the Israeli sealed off the West Bank and Gaza, adding to Palestinian anger. This tension complicated new efforts by U.S. Middle East envoy Dennis Ross to broker a deal for a long-delayed Israeli peace with Israel on the West Bank.



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## Saving a business Saving a family



At 41, Frank Jaccard was well on his way to achieving his life's goals. The success of his family's plastics company provided Frank, his wife Jane and their two children with a comfortable lifestyle. So when San Life agent Bob Eberly contacted Frank to discuss how to protect all that he'd worked so hard to build, Frank was ready to talk.

With a 10-year-old daughter and a son about to enter university, Frank knew his family's financial demands — should something happen to him — were more than just meeting day-to-day expenses. Providing for his children's education, ensuring his wife had a steady source of income, and crafting a plan for the future of the business were among Frank's financial priorities. Bob helped him to buy life insurance to meet these needs.

About two years after Frank purchased the policy, he suffered a massive stroke. "I remember it was about eleven o'clock at night when Jane phoned me in tears. Bob said 'The doctors didn't think Frank would live'."

Frank died 10 days later. Bob immediately contacted San Life and gave Jane a check for part of the death benefit from Frank's policy for immediate expenses. A large check for the remaining amount of the policy came shortly thereafter.



True to Frank's wishes, the insurance has given Jane choices. "I've decided to continue running the business for now," Jane explained. "The insurance money has given me confidence and peace of mind knowing that no matter what happens, my family's financial future is secure."



# The battle begins

**Bankers prepare for trouble as a federal task force delivers its report**

BY JOHN GEDDES

**E**ight months after he was written off as a liability in the bank merger battle, Marcelle Barrett staged a comeback last week. Back in January, the Bank of Montreal's chairman and CEO rejected his own Ward of Welfare and marched into the announcement of his bank's plan to merge with the Royal Bank of Canada, insisting that the new megabank would "dominate" in the United States. To the federal politicians who will ultimately decide if the merger goes ahead, it sounded like the deal was being driven by ego. Barrett became prime target of the merger critics. In a speech in Calgary last Thursday, he recovered some lost ground by pledging that the merged bank would set up a stand-alone arm devoted to serving small business—a key government concern—and double the credit available to smaller firms from what the two banks offer now. Even the skeptical small business lobby group, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, allowed that Barrett stuck with credibility. CFIB president Catherine Scott said he had kept "a remarkable" improvement in his public relations.

Barrett's bid to claim back the high ground was carefully timed as a prelude to this week's release of a federal task force report on the future of Canada's financial institutions. Much more is at stake, of course, than just banker's image. Ever since the proposal to marry the Bank of Montreal and the Royal Bank, which was followed by the April engagement of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and the Toronto Dominion Bank, the battle has been



**Back to Barrett's best in Calgary, looking at Pittsburgh, etc.**  
Deals trying to earn less that merges will mean power seizure

feeling polluted heat. Finance Minister Paul Martin, who holds the power to approve or reject bank deals, is at best doubtful. Many backroom Liberal MPs are downright hostile. The report of the task force, headed by Regis Lemyre, Harald MacKay is expected to set the terms for a bill packed with debate over the issues. The question is whether it will help clear a path for the mergers or continue to endless rounds of further study and political wrangling.

MacKay's tone will be wide ranging enough to be interpreted both ways. The good news for the bankers that is expected to stick

is the position of an interim report released in July, 1987 which recommended that Ottawa end its mercantilist policy of refusing to allow mergers between big banks. But the report is also likely to undermine the bankers' case for speedily agreeing from Martin. The bankers' argument is that growing foreign competition can only be countered if Canada's banks are allowed to join forces quickly to avoid a large-scale homegrown alternative. Industry sources and MacKay concluded that the invasion of foreign financial rivals, while real, is not so rapid that Ottawa must make a snap decision. That go-slow position sits nicely with many of the merger plans. "We would like to first see proof of the other players in the marketplace," Swift said in an interview. "Let's postpone this for a couple of years."

That would be an anomaly to the bankers with an urge to merge. David Moncreif, Royal Bank vice-president of public affairs, said it would be a "grave mistake" to sit idly and let the pace of change "We believe we have a window of opportunity in which we can meet the new competitive challenges," he said. "I don't know how long it will stay open... In fact, the local powerful local financial institutions along the road to the Canadian market continue to grow. Last week, Banc One Corp. of Columbus, Ohio, one of the biggest U.S. issuers of Visa and MasterCard, announced it will begin marketing Visa cards in Canada this fall.

Marie, however, is in no mood to haggle. MacKay has learned that he is already contemplating a move, based on the MacKay report, that resolves to kill off his third verdict by early month. Government officials said that MacKay will recommend a separate process of public consultation on each merger proposal, and that Martin favors amending first task to the House of Commons Finance committee. "I think you'll hear from Martin this week that there will never be a merger proposal that is not the subject of a specific set of hearings," said one Liberal strategists.

The process of a committee of highly critical MPs collecting the views of managers and broader input in a public hearing at a distance are far from basic. Who knows how long that would take? And such hearings would cause little after the interims are subjected to a belt-tightening array of prior government assistance. First, there is MacKay's task force, leading to a broad range of issues in the financial services sector—including merger policy as proposed but not specifically examining the two megabanks. Also on the table: Next, the House Finance committee and the Senate banking committee will hold hearings into MacKay's findings across Canada, likely starting this week, with an inevitable focus on the mergers in question. Both committees will report their conclusions later in the fall. As well, a self-appointed Royal Bank consultative force headed by Toronto MP Tony Iannini—a group that never ceases to stir up a little popular backtracking—plans to release its own recommendations sometime next month.

On a parallel track, the government's antitrust watchdog agency, the competition bureau, is far more cautious than the mergers to determine how they would affect consumers and businesses. And the bureau is not differing. It has issued

several press releases to the Royal Bank and BNP of Montreal to make sure it gets the documentation needs in time to meet its November deadline for reporting to Martin. Under its rules, either of the two merged banks controls more than 35 per cent of a certain market for a financial service, such as credit cards in one city or home mortgages in another, the bureau assumes that competition is jeopardized. It would also consider a situation in which any but competitors have more than 65 per cent of the market to be too much concentration. Finally the government's banking regulator, the office of the superintendent of financial institutions, is going to be loath to overlook.

The banks' technicians will need time charts to keep track of all the inquiries but at the end of the day, what matters is what Martin makes of it all. One thing is clear: if the mergers are eventually allowed, approval will come with strings attached. Government and banking sources agree that Martin will only consider giving the banks a green light if they can make solid contributions in three areas: access to banking services in rural communities and small towns; more favorable lending conditions for small business; and streamlining of deposit legislation.

MacKay's speech was aimed squarely at satisfying the small-business sources. By 2004, he vowed, the merged Royal Bank and Bank of Montreal would have 3,250 bankers working in a separate "new bank for small business," with an aim of lending \$40 billion to small companies and investing another \$3 billion through a venture

## AGFA's Agent electronic Banking on the kitchen



pay their bank payroll for their foreign visits. "Canadian institutions are not necessarily innovative, but they are fast adopters of new technology," said Al Hansen, a partner at Ernst & Young.

While banking over the Net is becoming more common, the electronic banking machines remain the favorite way for Canadians to do their electronic banking. In Canada, there are six ATMs for every 10,000 people, compared with fewer than five in the United States, and fewer than four in Britain and Germany. Canada is in ahead of most countries with 10 ATMs for every 10,000 people. Ernst & Young found that Canadian financial companies plan to make their sophisticated customers pay for the electronic teller.

## 'WHAT IS A BANK TELLER, MOMMY?'

**O**n reason that four of the country's big banks say they must be allowed to merge is to compete with powerful foreign rivals using new technology to break into the Canadian market. And a study by the consultants Ernst & Young found that Canada's financial sector, far from being a vulnerable laggard, is a front-runner in terms of exploring new ways to reach customers, including use of the Internet. One finding: 78 per cent of those Canadian financial firms responding to the survey planned to expand their electronic banking services through electronic channels, compared with only 30 per cent of US financial companies.

The report, released last week, surveyed more than 100 banks, mutual funds, insurance companies and other financial institutions in 26 countries. In Canada, 15 companies participated. They were found to be spending nine per cent of their total information technology budgets on developing electronic commerce compared with

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## BUSINESS

capital unit, Barrett was also precise on the issue of access to banking services. "Let me repeat a commitment: we raise right back in December," he said. "No small town, no rural area, no regional location will lose branch service as a result of the merger."

On the critical issue of jobs though, Barrett shied from making solid promises on behalf of the banks to employees of his own institution. "Personally, I expect that the integrated bank in 2004 will be employing more people than the two banks together do now," he said, "and that they will be significantly more senior and better paid." He did not mention that, in the short term, Bank of Montreal and Royal Bank have announced about 5,000 jobs would be eliminated out of their combined workforce of more than 30,000. That is not good enough for the Liberals. A senior federal official who asked not to be identified, said a scenario unlikely the mergers would lead to immediate layoffs, with a vague long-term plan to stop hiring in the future, "is just not on."

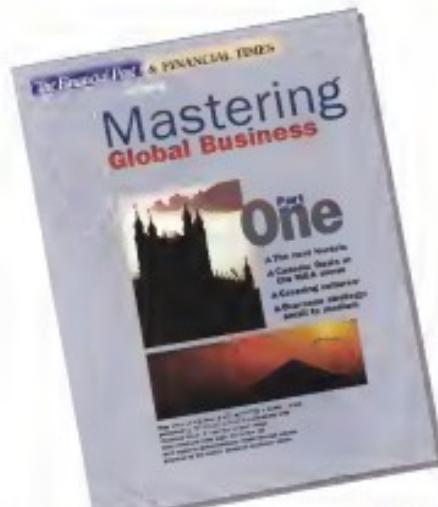
How many others can pile up conditions on the merger before the deal collapses is far from clear. Last week, CIBC chairman Al Picard said shareholders would reject a merger "marked with 'too many conditions.' " Politicians understand that the mergers make sense in the first place might well shrug off that warning. But last week also saw the first signs of what might be termed the banks' Plan B: spelling out the downside of blocking the merger. An expert from Bank of Montreal, chief economist Tim O'Neill said that without the merger, Canada's banks will have to concentrate on a niche market to survive in a world of heightened international competition. That would mean fewer banks with extensive national chains of full-service branches. Instead, one bank might concern itself on credit cards and consumer mortgages, another on leading to business and trading around funds. "We could end up potentially, with less competition in some areas," O'Neill told Maclean's.

While the four banks with resources in the works try to generate a sense of urgency behind their plans, the Bank of Nova Scotia, the only big bank without a merger partner, is cautions the government's tendency to be adopted. Scotiabank released a study last week arguing that if the mergers proceed, Canada will end up with 60 per cent of domestic banking assets in the hands of the two megabanks. This compares with 50 per cent for the top two banks in Netherlands, another country with a high level of banking concentration, and just 20 per cent for the largest two U.S. banks. Banks like those serve as reminders of how big Canada's banks already are, and will make it harder for them to plead that they are vulnerable in the marketplace. In the political arena, though, there is no denying that they are about to come under siege. □

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## BUSINESS

# Cleared for takeoff

## Air Canada reaches a deal with striking pilots

**F**or a few moments, Jim Marc Brehmer sounded more like a pitchman for Air Canada than the pilot who'd won his job in a strike against the airline. "We can take this airline a long way," is one of the best services in the world—by working with our management," Brehmer told reporters Thursday night in a cramped room in a Montreal hotel. His buoyant mood came as Air Canada and the 2,000 members of Air Canada's pilots' Association (APUA) reached a deal on a three-year agreement to end the strike, which began on Sept. 3. After three days of almost round-the-clock negotiations that led to the deal, it was hard to tell who was happier: Belanger, who called for agreement a few days ago; or Pacific Leisure, the Air Canada spokesman. A beaming Belanger declared, "It is an agreement that allows Air Canada to continue its growth and aim at all to remain competitive in a North American market."

**Stale Nucleo Contre Simard** *An Air Canada spokesman*

The airline first consulted with a settlement committee or another pilots' strike at Northwest Airlines based in Minneapolis that ground the U.S. fleet for 12 days. Under terms of the Air Canada settlement, the pilots agreed to a time-period when they'd work over two years—*in other words, they had rejected the strike before it began.* They did however, make concessions from the beginning. The fact that each pilot can now receive more pay and fewer flight hours, which had been a key demand.<sup>1</sup> The pilots who earn an average of \$100,000 a year, had initially asked for a 20-per-cent raise over two years before agreeing to demands. *Also important,* *the security and safety issues were also in dispute.* Canadian Airlines clearly



#### **REFERENCES**

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best opportunity that we're probably ever going to have to highlight who we are as an airline and the service we can deliver," he said. Canadian's staff rose to the occasion. On the Labor Day weekend, of Canadian's 16,000 employees, "not one of them showed in sick," Angel said.

For Canada, meanwhile, will have to do some fence-sitting with its passengers. Last Friday a crowd waited outside the airline's busy ticket office in downtown Manama waiting to change their travel arrangements. "We've been a nightmare," grumbled Anita Joseph, 38, who was in line for a re-haul. Joseph had to arrange for her wife to fly home to England on another airline because of the strike. Air Canada still tried to ease the wait by passing out buffered water and coffee to customers outside.

The studio has cut the engine, which can now do about 60,000 passengers daily, an estimated \$53 million a day. In the short term, analysts expect that the fuel rate reversal will be reflected in significantly lower third-quarter results. Some also expect the company's profits to be down in 1988 from last year's jet profit of \$427 million. As for the safety file, "They've been buying so that the company will find savings in other areas," said Jacques Kasteler, an analyst with HSBC Securities in Toronto. "We're getting into an economic slowdown here. This causes us to begin cutting costs." Another analyst, who requested anonymity, says the slowdown would do a "little damage" to the airline's balance sheet. Between Air Canada's recently negotiated deals with its unions, he said, the studio was less dangerous than allowing the pilots to act as an pressure pattern that older studios would follow.

Air Canada's LeBlanc insisted that he "absolutely" is satisfied that his bargaining stance with other unionists has not been "prejudicial." The company is expected to start contract talks with three of its other unions over the next year. Negotiations with the sticker's 3,000 flight attendants, who earn an average \$31,800 a year, begin next month. The Canadian Union of Public Employees, which represents Air Canada's flight at teachers, has not announced its demands for negotiation, but, says one union official, Sophie LaCroix-Harris, "we would be open of getting anything that would be reasonable to get." The way "we do things always is that it has to be reached," says the company. "We would never go to [bargaining] if we didn't have a strategy."



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## A flying leap for Bombardier



Bombardier's regional jet "canadiana" getting off

**H**igh-flying Bombardier Aerospace may be about to hit the biggest risk of its life, competing directly with Boeing Co. and Airbus Industrie, the industry giants. Montreal-based Bombardier announced at the Farnborough Air Show, near London, that it intends to produce a new 90-seat jetliner that would cost an estimated \$1.5 billion to develop. Bombardier has been wildly successful with its 30-seat CRJ-200 regional jetliners (750 sold) versus its just-starting production. And while it seems there is no competitor in the 90-seat class, Regional Jet will have the 737, which seats 100, and Airbus has a firm place for its 100-seat model. Bombardier chairman Laurent Baudouin said the company will work very actively to determine demand and find partners to share costs.

Bombardier got some good news from Ottawa. A federal official confirmed that the government is considering increasing export sub-

### MORTGAGE RATES DROP

Canada's major banks lowered mortgage rates only two weeks after raising them by a full percentage point, crediting the lower cost of borrowing. The latest one-year closed-mortgage fell a quarter point to 7.2 per cent, while the five-year rate dropped a tenth of a point to 7.65 per cent.

### VOLVO CLOSES PLANT

Swedish automaker AB Volvo said it will shut down its assembly plant in Halifax after this year, throwing more than 200 people out of work. The closure means Toronto-based Volvo Canada Ltd. will lose its right under the Canada-U.S. auto pact to export cars to Canada duty free.

### DOUBLEDAY DEAL

German communications giant Bertelsmann Publishing AG is poised to take over Toronto-based Doubleday Canada Ltd. for an undisclosed sum, despite a federal policy that prohibits foreign takeovers of Canadian publishers unless they are in financial trouble. Doubleday said it believes this deal will go ahead, but admitted it could require a change in Ottawa's policy.

### MURDOCH'S NEW TEAM

BskyB, a UK-based satellite television company owned by press tycoon Rupert Murdoch, acquired former colleague Sir Manchester United for \$1.6 billion, the highest price ever paid for a pro sports team. If the deal goes through, Murdoch will own two of the most prized teams in sports. In Miami, he bought baseball's Los Angeles Dodgers.

### THE COMEBACK KID

Falling mutual fund star Vernita Hinrichs took a controlling stake in Toronto-based Grinnell-Papadou Management Associates, a real estate investment firm. Last year, Hinrichs resigned from Purity Investments Canada Ltd. amid controversy over personal trading in a prior gold stock.

### A CLOTHING COUP

Calgary-based Mark's Work Wearhouse Ltd. announced an agreement with Lee Strauss & Co. to open up to 150 Dockers stores. The deal could double Mark's annual revenues to more than \$600 million.

U.S. broadcaster would retain over-budget, personnel, program supply and purchases. CanWest chairman Guy Anger turned earlier that the company's bid for Nextel, valued at more than \$900 million, might not succeed. He also said recent fluctuations in share prices could jeopardize CanWest's deal with Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary to split the assets of WIC Western International Communications Ltd. CanWest has agreed to pay \$650 million to Shaw for WIC's television assets.

real estate by only 2.6 per cent this year and 1.2 per cent in 1998, down from 3.7 per cent in 1997.

"Construction was surprisingly weak in Western Canada, with every province posting a drop in housing starts,"

—Markets Bureau

## FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

In a sign of a slowing economy, indicators in Canada increasingly reflected the rate of capacity use in the second quarter to 85.6 per cent of full production. The 85.1 per cent figure dropped from the first quarter marked the first decrease in two years. New vehicle sales also slid 0.5 per cent in July. Home sales, the second straight monthly decline.

The resolution of construction strikes, however, helped boost housing starts in August to an annual rate of 157,400 up 11.7 per

cent from July. Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. predicted new housing starts in 1998 will reach 145,500 units, unchanged from 1997. Even so, an economist with New York City-based J.P. Morgan Securities Inc. predicted the Canadian economy

"will grow by only 2.6 per cent this year and 1.2 per cent in 1998, down from 3.7 per cent in 1997."

"Construction was surprisingly weak in Western Canada, with every province posting a drop in housing starts,"

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# Peter C. Newman

## Jean Chrétien's failure to establish a legacy

**F**or the quarter of a century that Pierre Trudeau and Brian Mulroney ruled over us, our politics were, if not inspiring, exciting at least. They were very different men, but from the moment they first rose into view until their final curtain call, they were never dull.

They were our first serious-police ministers born in the 20th century, and it they didn't exactly make that century belong to us—most of their predecessors had promised—they did their best to leave a permanent mark. Things happened. Vision of the country clashed. Sure, we ended up being dunked mired with both of them, but we left politically alive—entangled, mired, interlocked, disputed, disillusioned—enriched—but we reacted to what was happening—and not happening—to our country. We cared. Trudeau and Mulroney turned Canadian politics into a blood sport.

And we won.

Ever since they left the scene, politics in this large land have become as dull as a ruined-out Shady School picnic. Nothing happens. The politicians in charge of our collective destiny don't seem to care about us and we don't care about them. That damping down of the process by which we are governed has had serious consequences. Only a few dedicated groups even bother to follow what's happening. National problems no longer seem to have political solutions. Yet it is the only arena where nation-building can take place. When other (nonpolitical) problems (as opposed to journalists' discourse), we're not a country, and if we're not a "real country" (as Lester Bouchard has rightly observed) we won't be accorded a meaningful place in the global village.

Nearly everything that happens now is predictable.

You know that every time there is a full moon, at least a couple of Reform MPs will say aspe. The party will suffer yet another lack start on its road to oblivion. Preston Manning, who seems to take these setbacks as part of his lifeblood, banters, wasn't in the loop when they were handing out cheques, but he is an articulate and dedicated spokesman of the western populists that gave his party birth. To repeat this stat is to repeat the party's very existence.

On the government benches we have a Prime Minister who, five hours after his first election, has yet to establish any meaningful legacy. He seems to work on the assumption that if you're Prime Minister, just being there—getting to the office or home—is enough. Jean Chrétien is a man who has spent his entire political life seeking the ultimate highest of office. He first became an MP when John Turner was still in the White House. 25 years ago, and all the while has been ferociously dedicated to attaining the office—and he now holds. Did he expand his creative energy getting the job—and is now fresh out of the idea of creative leaps that make

for inspired statesmanship? Why doesn't he stop hiding and do something—or get out of the way?

The Tories, on the other hand, truly nothing. They are determined to complete their visiting act, as the choice of Joe Clark to be their last national leader, will soon confirm. Here is the party that founded this bilingual country and produced some of the best trade and economic we have had. Now, as creative energy has been so sapped that it is preparing to reshock two long decades and picks, as the candidate to lead them into the 21st century a failed politician who could not hold onto office more than nine months the last time out.

Talk about predictable. Less predictable, but even more disturbing, is the impact of globalization on Canada's future. What it means to be made and educated in, is that we no longer exercise any meaningful control over our working lives. The economy is always assessed in economic or mathematical terms. In truth, it is the sum of all we do and aspire to do, what we are and hope to become. That counting is now tied to the fate of Thai rice farmers, Japanese carmakers, and Russian miners.

"There are only two scenarios," according to Ken Coates, the London-born chief economist for Deutsche Bank Gruppe Asia Pacific in Tokyo. "If Japan turns its economy around, that would put a floor under the rest of Asia, and we start away from disaster. But, who knows where it will end?" That statement was made on Aug. 2, as the Japanese economy and the value of the yen have substantially deteriorated since June. Nine of Asia's 33 major economies are now in depression mode and there are no obvious remedies.

Far a cheerful website to do this consider: The potential consequences of the Russian collapse is even more disastrous situation. Writing recently in an obscure Canadian defense department newsletter, *National Network*, Capt. George George-Brownlie, a Soviet military expert, reports on Presidential Decree 1590 signed by Boris Yeltsin just December 1st. It, the Russian president admits that one of his country's few remaining strengths is its nuclear capability. The decree revives old arguments about "the reduced Russian status in global influence" and concludes that "the final use of nuclear weapons in any conflict which endangers the federation is the Russian nuclear deterrent."

The only way to return our country home enough to make it into the next century is to admit the advice of one man, who is at the centre of another storm. Asked what was likely to happen to his boss but week, Mike McCurry, who is Bill Clinton's press secretary said, "I don't participate anything. I just show up for work, and what happens."

Ahaha, Mike.

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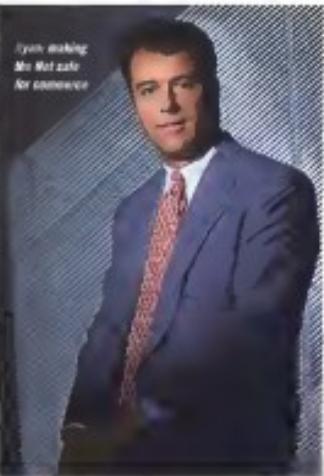


# Secretive by design

The art of writing and deciphering coded messages was once the preserve of spy novelties and shadowy government agencies that didn't dare to acknowledge their own existence. Cryptography, as the science of codes and ciphers is known, helped the Allies win the Second World War by cracking the Enigma-code machines used by the Germans. The 1945 defection of Soviet cipher clerk Igor Ginzburg in Ottawa allowed the Americans to break Soviet codes that revealed Stalin's efforts to steal nuclear secrets. Now, propelled by the rise of the Internet and the need to secure business transactions in cyberspace, the business of encryption is starting to move out of the shadows. "Increasingly," says Sean Ellington, a computer security expert at Ernst and Young in Vancouver, "we are going to have to do business with people we have never met and never will meet, and we will have to do business electronically." The answer to keeping that business secure and safe lies with a new generation of cryptographers, and a lot of them just happen to be Canadian.

The biggest and most successful of the Canadian companies is the cyclic business in Entrust Technologies Ltd., a spin-off of telecommunications giant Nortel Networks, with headquarters in Brampton, Tex., but 300 of its 450 employees in Ottawa, produces software that helps companies keep their secrets safe. That's a big job: the computer has not only made it easier to code messages it has made it easier for hackers to break those codes. And keeping secrets from prying eyes on the grand computer bazaar of the Internet, where an increasing amount of business communication takes place, isn't a dazzling task. A global survey of business last year by Ernst and Young indicated that 45 percent of firms that monitor their networks for intrusions had an Internet security breach. "The Internet has revolutionized the need for security," says Toronto-born John Ryan, Entrust's president and CEO.

The Internet and electronic commerce are also revolutionizing the way certain codes are being used. In the old days, the same key was used to both encode and decode a message, a method referred to as symmetrical cryptography. Such a system is not totally secure. So, in 1949, Ross Bushell, an Allies dad, and all I'm guessing! But in those days, codes were generally used by people working for the same organization, whether a company or a spy agency, and that made it easier to keep the keys safe and secure. That, as Ellington says, people now want to send coded messages to people they have never met, working for an organization they may have never heard of.



**Canadians lead a new industry that has come in from the cold**

of. Using symmetrical encryption, about the only way to do that is to send the deciphering key along with the coded message, a system obviously fraught with peril.

To meet these new demands, companies like Entrust are turning to a relatively new form of crypto-raphy where a sender uses one code, or key, to encrypt a message and the recipient uses another key to decrypt and read the message, a system known as public key encryption. The encoding and decoding engines are mathematically related but it is almost impossible to use one of the keys to break the other. That allows such systems to have one half of the pair stored on publicly accessible databases on the Internet. To send a coded message to someone, the sender merely uses the recipient's publicly available key. "The only person in the world that can decrypt that message is the holder of your private key, which is presumably you," Ellington says.

The other advantage of Entrust's system is that it can be used as a digital signature, answering a key problem encountered in those early days of Internet commerce—having some confidence that people are who they say they are. To provide that assurance, Entrust uses a second key pair, with the person sending the message using the private code to identify himself and the recipient using the

sender's public signature key to verify that identity.

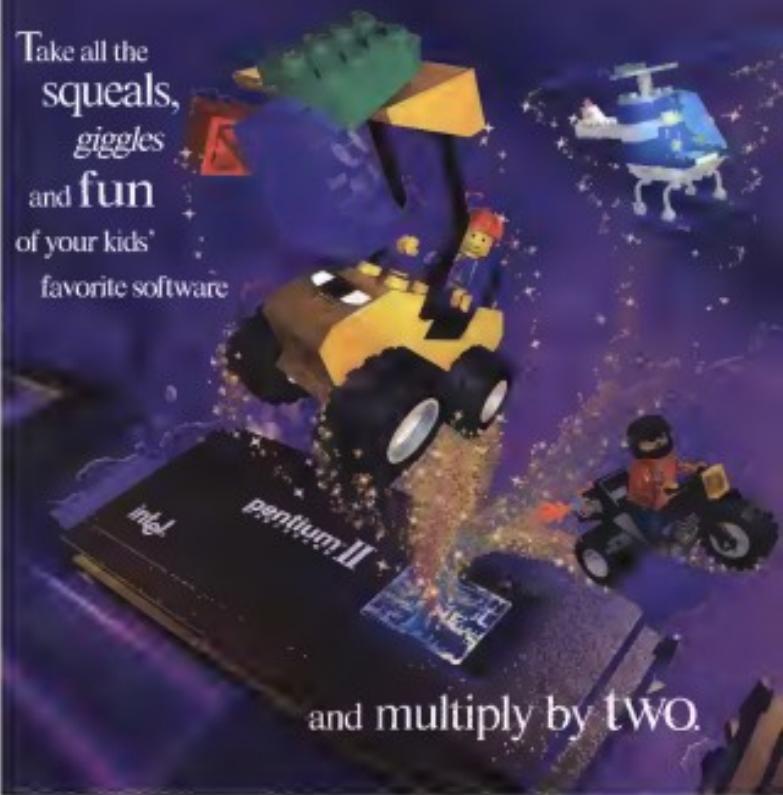
Entrust, which went public last month on the U.S. Nasdaq exchange, has already sold its system to a number of large companies, including J.P. Morgan and the Bank of Nova Scotia, which uses public key encryption to safeguard its online banking services. The Canadian government is also a client. Nicole Schmidl, a director in the equity research department at CIBC Oppenheimer in New York City, says the market will be in the billions, a space left by Entrust and its competitor, California-based Verisign Inc. Ryan estimates that the market will be about \$1.7 billion by 2003. Entrust's sales last year totalled \$30 million, almost double the previous figure.

But in the Russian lair and when Ginzburg walked out of those Ottawa cavalry with cipher books under his arms, people, not systems, see the weak at security link. Ellington says he has seen cases where the best system failed because people put their passwords on notes stuck to their computers. The price of security is eternal vigilance. "The bad guys," he says, "only have to wait once. If you're on the other side of the fence, you need to wait every day."

WARREN CARBONATA

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# People

Edited by  
TANYA DAWES

## Big Mac, the Home Run King

**O**n the cusp of a historic milestone, and at a point when he might have succumbed to nerves, Mark McGwire made it look easy last week. In only his first game after hitting his 50th home run, thus tying Roger Maris's 1961 record for the most in a single season, the St. Louis slugger magnificently made his mark. He swung at Chicago right-hander Steve Trachsel's low and away fastball and clubbed a line drive that plowed the left-field fence. It was not a typical McGwire shot—most of his previous round-trippers this season landed in the far reaches of the bleachers, if they stayed in the park at all. But it was good enough. "It'll tell you what I was so shocked because I didn't think the ball had enough to get out," McGwire said. "It's an absolutely incredible feeling. I can honestly say I did it."

All hell Big Mac. With a record of 62 wins and counting, McGwire is already the third man of the 20th century to be crowned Home Run King, after Maris and the legendary Babe Ruth. His name is now to the title. McGwire is enormous, standing 6'4, and his swing is powerful; he has hit more home runs than anyone this season. And with his early red-headed hair and easy smile, the 34-year-old Cardinal star has become an all-American legend. More importantly for baseball, McGwire's record-breaking last week became a top story on virtually every news site and newsroom in North America, giving the game a little life lost during the destructive brief dips of the mid-1990s. The reaction within baseball was almost as intense as his recent competitor in the home run derby, the Cal's Sammy Sosa, deservedly saying "Mark is The Man." But the achievement from seconded the sport. Chilean Prime Minister Raúl Onofre sent McGwire a telegram stating, "You have brightened up the world, which needed good news."



McGwire's record-breaking swing, celebrating his 62nd homer with son Matthew (left) at an American appeal



With a drifter, "What is Mark McGwire going to do for this groundskeeper next year?"

There will likely be many record-seeking balls, though McGwire has been hitting homers at a pace of one in every seven of bats, so it is conceivable his record could last to nearly '70 by season's end. But even though Maris's mark stood for 37 years, and the Babe's lasted for 34, José Canseco, McGwire's body builder when they both plied their trade in Oakland, doubts the new total will last long. "I think McGwire is going to chase it next year," the Toronto slugger predicts. "He is incredible." And he has the record to prove it.

JAMES DEACON

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# Lethal treatment

## The death of a patient puts chiropractic on trial

BY MARK NICHOLS

**L**aura Jean Matheson had been going to a Saskatoon chiropractor clinic for six months, mostly for treatment of lower back pain. On Feb. 4, the 29-year-old restaurateur manager visited chiropractor Stacey Krueger for the last time. According to Matheson's mother, Sharron, she had seen Krueger the day before because of a sore neck. But after lying down, her neck pain seemed to worsen and she returned in the hope that Krueger could ease the discomfort. In the clinic, Krueger once again manipulated her patient's neck. But according to testimony at an inquest last week, the treatment did not help. As Matheson lay on the chiropractor's table, she complained of pain—then lost consciousness and began convulsing. Rushed to a centre of Saskatchewan Royal University Hospital, she was lost to life support for three days. She died on Feb. 7—as a result, according to an autopsy report, of a ruptured vertebral artery. Testifying at the inquest, Sharron Matheson told of how Krueger's office in her daughter exhibited all the signs of a stroke. Krueger assured her that everything would be all right, said Matheson—and "I trusted her she was a doctor."

In effect, the inquest put the chiropractic profession on trial. The four-day hearing, before Saskatchewan's chief coroner, John Nestor, and a six-member jury in Saskatoon's Court of Queen's Bench, ended with the jury agreeing that protocol health ministries immediately fund research into the incidence of strokes associated with chiropractic manipulation of patients' necks and spines. After deliberating for four hours, the jury made no suggestion that Krueger had performed the procedure incorrectly. But it said that literature outlining the risks of stroke should be made available to chiropractic offices. It recommended that health authorities try to find effective screening tools to identify patients who might be vulnerable to injury. And it agreed that the development of standard forms for patients to fill out previous details of their health and medical history. Sharron Matheson told reporters that the hoped the jury's proposals would be acted on, "so that nobody else will walk to their death like Laura did."

Chiropractors acknowledge that cervical (neck) and spinal manipulation can cause strokes. In fact, practices usually require patients to read and sign a waiver



warning of the risk. And chiropractors were clearly concerned that the Matheson case could shake the public's faith in them. According to the Toronto-based Canadian Chiropractic Association, about three million people across the country pay an estimated 20 million visits annually to more than 5,000 licensed chiropractors. "We've got a lot of patients who have been really scared," says association president David Petersson, a Calgary chiropractor. "Yes, there is a risk involved in cervical manipulation. But it is extremely low."

Yet testimony at the inquest raised disturbing questions. Sharron Matheson, who works at a health food store just a few doors from the chiropractic clinic, told the inquest she saw her daughter shortly before her Feb. 4 appointment. Soon after, her daughter's fiancé, Doyle Gerster, arrived in the store to tell her that Laura Jean was in trouble. Matheson recalled to the chiropractor's office where she found her daughter retching and foaming at the mouth. Gerster and Matheson testified that the only thing Krueger did to try to help was to slap Laura Jean's face. "My daughter was fine before my eyes and nothing was happening," added Matheson.

Krueger's account was different. She told the court that

she also performed an adjustment to her patient's neck. Matheson began to cry, complaining that her neck hurt. "I had it out twisted something was not right," Krueger testified. "But I had nothing to base it on." Krueger, 36, said that she subsequently examined Matheson's eyes and saw that the left eye was misaligned "all wrong." At that point, said Krueger, she told her friend to lie down for an adjustment. Krueger, who is still practicing in Saskatoon, told the inquest that Matheson's death was the worst thing that had ever happened to her.

Robert Macaskay, who performed the autopsy on Matheson, testified that the woman's artery was probably torn during her Feb. 3 session with Krueger. When she returned the next day, said Macaskay, the additional neck adjustment probably dislodged a blood clot formed the day before, blocking the artery "like a cork" and cutting the flow of blood to the brain.

Chiropractors insist that strokes caused by their treatments are rare—their estimates range

from one in a million to one in 2.8 million manipulations. That is considerably less risky, they argue. But taking ordinary over-the-counter medications like Aspirin and its cousins, which can break up and purify clots, seems to be the answer. Statistics from the National Institutes of Health, released last year, show that about 76,000 Americans are hospitalized a year because of strokes caused by the stiff. But when manipulation of the neck does damage, blood vessels that run up the spine and into the head, resulting strokes can cause temporary or lasting impairment of speech, vision and other vital systems sometimes death. What happened to Matheson was "a tragedy—a family lost their daughter," said Dr. Alexander Gruen, president of the Chiropractic Association of Saskatchewan. "But you have to see it in the perspective of the risks and benefits involved in any kind of treatment."

Statistics on chiropractic-induced stroke are scarce. Physicians critical of chiropractic say that is partly because stroke usually happens a day or so after treatment, making it difficult to determine if it was caused by the manipulation. In 1990, however, researchers at Stanford University in Palo Alto, Calif., 53 neurologists reported seeing evidence of stroke in 50 patients in otherwise healthy conditions. Of 46 patients treated by chiropractors in the previous 30 hours, according to the study, published in the journal *Neurology*, most of the patients were still experiencing problems three months later.

Chiropractors have come a long way since Daniel David Palmer, a Port Perry, Ont., barn schoolteacher, "adjusted" a bump on the spine of a deaf person in Davenport, Iowa, in 1895 and subsequently restored the man's hearing. Palmer later developed a theory that misaligned bones, or subluxations, hampered healing processes. Today, Canadian chiropractors are entitled to call themselves doctors—and they have respectable academic credentials. To qualify for the four-year training course at Toronto's Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College—where Krueger graduated in 1986—students must first have three years of university education. And according to the college's president, Jim Moon, students are required to make an intensive study of such subjects as anatomy and neurology, and are taught about the risks of stroke as a possible consequence of cervical manipulation.

With DAWN ZAKARSKA in Saskatoon





**Balding:** the plight of the old-timers may ultimately get the PGA Tour's attention

## Outside looking in

**P**ro golf's pioneers face old age without a pension

**T**he irony is enough to make an old golfer laugh—or cry. The PGA Tour's wandering band of veterans have finished the northern swing at the Greater Vancouver Open in August and its last stop, the Bell Canadian Open in Waterloo, Ont., are debating whether to form a union. All too considered the most unprepared of professional athletes because they've yet seen what they play well, the men in skirts can still have a pretty cushy life. The Tour will hand out \$1.16 million in total prize money in 1996, and in which the champions at the Canadian tournaments were paid \$680,000 and \$600,000, respectively. Yet disgruntled players say they want a bigger slice of the Tour's unusually rich pie and reimbursement for their travel expenses to tournaments, even if they fail to make the cut.

Hearing this, guys like Bob Goalby, Doug Ford, Tommy Bolt and Al Bedingfield just shake their heads. They started before sponsorships and TV contracts took all those acres on the end of the women's theories. Well past retirement age, they can be found at so-called super-senior tournaments such as the recent Liberty Health Invitational in Etobicoke, Ont., for players 60 and over. They can still play, they enjoy the competition and, although some will admit it personally, most of them need the money. Liberty Health champion Jimmy Powell collected nearly \$45,000, and last place was worth \$3,000—useful sums for retirees who, for the most part, do

instead yearned to stage more super-senior events to bolster retirement incomes, but that only serves those who are healthy enough to play. Goalby, 86, bristles at the contrast in fortunes between his peers and modern players who can be seen in fits with a couple of good scores. "The guys out there today," says Goalby, "they don't have any idea what we did for them."

That's not entirely true. Many of the players at the Open last week expressed sympathy when informed that former Tour stars were not included in the pension plan. "I definitely think we owe guys like that something," said Bradley Hart, the 1995 Canadian Open champion. "They got the whole thing going." But veteran Brad Faxon said few players would agree to even a slight reduction in their own income to support their predecessors. "I think a lot of our guys forget how good they have gotten out here," Faxon says.

Other sports have found ways to help veterans whose earnings are depicted by modest bills and costs of living. In August, the NHL Players Association distributed \$600,000 in rewards from a funding card set to the 30 surviving NHL veterans who played before the pension was created in 1988. The PGA Tour can certainly afford a similar gesture. Now TV rights fees will increase tournament payees by 30 per cent in 1996 and by 100 per cent in 2000. But as property appreciations, officials say, the Tour cannot debase funds except through contributions, leaving super-size improvements as the best way to create income for players outside the plan. "This is something we have worked on for years," says Ron Price, the PGA Tour's senior vice-president of finance. "We wish we could do more."

When he was 81 in 1978, Bedingfield spent four years in an artillery battery at the Second World War re-enactment base to drive a truck for Cushing P.G.A.s and got into golf in 1980 as a \$13-a-week club cleaner at a golf course west of Toronto. Within a few years, he was Cushing's top teaching pro—and in 1982 he won three times and finished eighth on the money list with a total more than \$25,000. He left the Tour because of a recurring shoulder injury a decade before the pension plan was established. Now living in Mississauga, Ont., with his wife, Marlene, Bedingfield says the old-timers' plight may ultimately get the tour's attention. He says that in 1986 when he and the other pros broke from the PGA, they threw in \$600 each—a lot for the time—to pay legal and start-up costs. "I'm not angry," he says, "but I wonder if we were the ones who put up the money, doesn't that mean we own the things?" The tour may find that helping the old timers is less expensive than getting rid of them.

JAMES DUNCON



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# Teachers in turmoil

New classroom rules provoke labor unrest

**I**t was as if someone had hit the stroke bar governing the bucket-slap school bell. Last week, summer vacation continued for nearly 200,000 Ontario elementary and high-school students, courtesy of a series of strikes and lockouts triggered by the province's school reforms. Meanwhile, nearly two million others stayed at their classrooms, hampered by a mounting labor uncertainty that threatens to eliminate such popular extracurricular programs as drama classes and after-school sports. The contracting school pictures could not have been more stark. In Parry Sound, home of hockey legend Bobby Orr and provincial Finance Minister Eric Hoskins, there were four teachers-coaches for arts-and-baseball at the local high school, up from one last year. Young, newly hired instructors—with one of the more innovative teacher agreements in the province—were filling out their resumes to help each other substitute or will extra extracurricular activities. "It's just a renamed case of cutbacks," says English and history teacher Glen Hodgson, who is also basketball and volleyball coach. The only downside, he says, is that the schools they play against are not, for the foreseeable future, fielding teams in Trenton and the surrounding regions of Durham, Dufferin-Peel and York; several hundred, mostly Catholic, high schools were equally quiet, save for the slow shuffle of pictures by their front doors. In thousands of others, classrooms were open, but there were no echoes of energetic enthusiasm in the gym.

At issue is Ontario's new funding formula, which imposes new limits on average class size, relies to increase the amount of time teachers spend on "instruction," and restricts the flexibility of school boards to run deficits or pay for those changes out of anything but strict spending envelopes. For the first time in a day that statistics speak for themselves, elementary school teachers are expected to be there for four hours and 30 minutes, a standard rate of four already exceed. High-



Ontario protesters: Teachers and parents want students back in class

and extracurricular time that many teachers count on, but also adds considerably to the extra work they must prepare as.

"The danger here is that we will evolve two tiers of school boards," says Lou Sambolis, head of the Ontario Public School Board's Association. "Those who have the flexibility to reach an agreement and the vast majority who don't." In the latter case, that means boards in the larger metropolitan areas who tend to have higher per-student costs reflecting the higher cost of living in those areas. Because the new funding formula is based on provincial averages, boards that are above the spending average cannot afford to maintain last year's staffing levels, let alone increase them. To reduce class sizes, they must force teachers to work substantially

longer hours. That means to be the government's gril. But it is a surprise move last week, only two days into the new school year and one day after making short backs-to-work legislation. Education Minister David Johnson allowed to give the boards up to two years to implement the new instructional time standards. He is still phrasing a new law for the fall to define instructional time in such a way that does not include homeroom, hallway supervision, planning or mentoring programs. But if boards strike deal-in-class form before the law is passed, he will not overturn it even if they can stand for the normal length of a two-year contract.

Johnson's concession was hailed by the teachers' unions. Marshall Jarvis, head of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association, expected it would restore negotiations and have the majority of the strikebound students back in classrooms this week. But most teachers are expected to remain on a work-to-rule footing while the long-term switch begins from the tight balance between classroom instruction and extracurricular education. In Parry Sound, part of the North North District School Board, which includes Peterborough, Mike Harris's hometown of North Bay, various school board officials feel they have found the formula. It has been adopted, at least in principle, by seven of Ontario's 32 public boards, notes Earl Manners, head of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. Under the North North arrangement, teachers have given up their sabbaticals, personal leave days and some professional perks, most importantly they have also agreed to do individual "teach-offs" to \$800 for working collectively to spend at least 35 minutes a day assisting in someone else's classroom or lab. "I don't feel overworked," says Hodgson. "We are doing a lot of the activities we would normally do on our own. Now, they are being scheduled in on a regular basis."

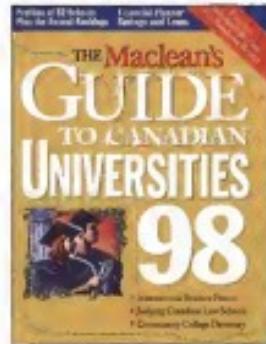
Will this scheduling work in the larger centres? The Landmarks board, third largest in the province, will try it. But Joseph Marano, chairman of the Toronto Catholic District School Board whose 30,000 high school students were locked-out last week, says it appears too complicated. Now, there seems to be a two-year breathing space to sort out the value of drama clubs and school sports. That may be what Ontario's new school bell has rung in.

ROBERT SHEPPARD

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# Comfort and love

Two memoirs recall very different childhoods

**C**ecil Foster and Charles Fournier both learned to live in poverty—and both ultimately became writers. But the two Torontonians could hardly have had more divergent childhoods. Foster, 44, the author of three novels including this year's *Snowbird* (Tor), and *A Place Called Heaven* (1996), a study of black Canadian life, grew up in poverty in Barbados. Abandoned by his parents, he wore hand-me-down clothes, accompanied a wild hangover, and with his friends roamed the cane fields and sand beaches of the island. Fournier, 38, has also published fiction (two novels including 1996's *Butterfly Lovers*) and non-fiction (1993's *The Last House of Diderot*). But he was nurtured in the middle-class Toronto suburb of Willowdale, where he never seems to have faced anything more threatening than a finger-wagging teacher.

Now, both men have written autobiographies chronicling their early years. Foster's *Home Page* (Duke/Collins, 213 pages, \$25) and Fournier's *The Story of My Life* (before Duke/Collins, 252 pages, \$25) are radically different, not only in subject matter but in approach. Foster, with his highly unstable childhood, spent a rather sheltered existence, while Fournier, child of the comfortable middle class with an experimental教育, yet quite beyond these differences, both books take us, say a great deal about the relative importance of maternal comfort and love, in creating happy and motivated human beings.

As a boy, Foster scarcely knew his parents. His father, a gold-mining prospector from Britain, was abandoned in 1956, while his mother, a woman brought social status, left Barbados was still a place where old beliefs lingered. Foster writes fascinatingly of such customs as agendering white sand in houses to keep off the spirits of the dead (the ghosts were supposedly attracted when they stopped to count the grains). He also recalls the defiance used his grandfather from a free house, cheap sugar-cane juice, something called chocolate cake, salami (preserved), and fish cakes containing shark oil or sprats. All that Foster seems to have had a childhood rich both in

sensuous experience and adventure. His many poor children, he enjoyed a degree of physical freedom often denied to the upper-middle-class children of the middle class.

Bat Foster was often tormented by bullies—sometimes other boys, sometimes their fathers, looking for revenge for an imagined insult. It is a passage that may prove to be controversial in Canada's Caribbean community. Foster writes: "With few exceptions, the men I encountered in Barbados were bullies. Their claim to have been kindly compensated led to how much they hurt people, whether strangers or family." Foster was also beaten frequently by his grandmother, especially as the economic and poverty increased. It was not until he moved to his great-grandmother's that he entered a house where he was not hit, and where he met a man—an adult's boyfriend called Marvin—who taught Foster that "men can get angry without breaking anyone."

It was finally encouraging letter from a retired schoolteacher who guided Foster and the successful academic career that followed in his becoming a journalist. The tone of this journey is more lively and affecting when Foster takes the time to describe his decade. Some poignant dug down in blurb, generalized description has on the whole. Blund. Blund is an evocative word in the power of the heart's connection in covering all sorts of breakdowns.

Fournier's *Story of My Life* (to be published in a gracefully written attempt to recreate childhood consciousness between the ages of 5 and 10. Of course, this is ultimately impossible, but Fournier courageously re-enacts some of his early perceptions and his confusion in the face of adult behavior and language. He spends a lot losing his parents and becoming "a orphan," and he mistakes the boy who is his older sister's boyfriend for some kind of stigmatized. Thus there are the subversively blunt understandings of his first communion when Charlie is converted by a soft-spoken Catholic boy parts.

At its best, Foster's book raises a bitter sweet pang of recognition, bittersweet-sadness that his growing sense of all too often goes away in surface cuteness. There is no sense that Foster has thought very deeply about the underlying conflicts and joys that even the happiest of families harbor. And in his attempt to describe a warm and loving home, he never finds the narrative thread that makes Foster's less graceful book more compelling.

JOHN DEMBRO



Foster: poverty, freedom and absent parents in Barbados

# Automotive Marketplace ONTARIO

## Alternate Ways to Buy a Vehicle

Dennis DesRosiers



The vast majority of vehicle dealerships have taken steps in recent years to make the buying experience more satisfying for customers.

However, for a variety of reasons, some consumers still feel intimidated by the process of buying a vehicle in person at a car dealership. The proliferation of models, pricing options, accessories options and various car

options can produce a lack of confidence in buyers, particularly if they are not experienced in negotiating with dealers. For this reason, it has developed in the retail automobile market for mechanics to help such consumers buy their vehicles with an atmosphere they are more comfortable with. The result has been the emergence of a variety which are known as alternate channels of distribution or alternate dealers.

They include internet buying services, periodic buying clubs, vehicle brokers and independent leasing companies. These leasing companies, for example, operate in complete independence of the vehicle manufacturers and their dealers. In the US internet services have become very popular and analysts estimate that upwards of 15 per cent of new vehicles are bought through these sellers. Similar services are unavailable for Canadians, but estimates are lower. For instance, vehicle dealers report relatively hundreds of vehicles 30 per cent sell set aside a handful of vehicles through them. A recent survey of vehicle dealers conducted by PriceWaterhouseCoopers and Deloitte & Touche indicated that about half the dealers in Canada have an Internet Web site. Another 15 per cent also belong to one of the Internet buying services such as Auto 1st or AutoNet.com.

These alternate sellers are actually representing the consumer at the vehicle dealer or providing consumers with cost information unavailable anywhere else. It is important to understand that absolutely every new vehicle purchased in Canada has to be bought through a vehicle dealer. The vehicle companies do not and will not sell vehicles directly to consumers, rental companies, leasing companies, vehicle brokers, buying clubs, or large volume buyers no matter what their volume.

Some of these groups can negotiate volume discounts with the vehicle companies but nevertheless every vehicle in Canada is sold through a car dealer. The volume of vehicles sold to fleet and other mass buyers is very large. Upwards to 30 per cent of vehicles

sold each year are purchased by fleet buyers but every one of them is bought from a vehicle dealer. The car dealer cannot be avoided. Most alternative sellers also require the consumers they represent to pick up their vehicles in the car dealer — although some will deliver the vehicle to the consumer if an alternate seller claims to save money by buying "direct from the factory" then it is misleading the consumer. Interestingly not all alternate sellers claim to save consumers money instead they position themselves as "dealers" and charge for that service.

Some alternate sellers however claim to be able to obtain vehicles at lower prices; in some cases this is true because alternate sellers often have sophisticated negotiating skills, and sometimes are able to get access to fleet or volume discounts offered by the manufacturers. Also they are often able to avoid certain costs in the purchase process. But more often than not they are simply putting themselves between consumers and car dealers and helping consumers avoid the process of negotiating and buying vehicles themselves. As mentioned earlier this is the process some consumers dislike.

The Internet buying services operate a little differently. They sign up vehicle dealers to their services and offer to deliver vehicles if not hundreds of dealers to subscribing dealers. They use the vast reach of the Internet to attract consumers with the promise of a hassle-free, low-cost buying process for consumers who access their services. They are able to offer lower prices plus by eliminating or at least cutting the costs vehicle dealers face. The cost savings are then passed along to consumers.

The following is an example of the two approaches to purchasing a vehicle by one of the larger US Internet services (see chart). Although this is a US example, we believe it is still relevant for auto-services in Canada. It illustrates that while the gross profit per vehicle is substantially lower if they sell by the method rather than the traditional way, by saving dealers' labor, advertising, rental and other fixed costs, their dealers' operating profits is similar in each scenario.

In the example, the consumer saves close to \$800 and the dealer's operating profit is only slightly reduced. Once the price of the vehicle is negotiated and the consumer accepts the deal, the consumer is given the name of a vehicle dealer at which to pick up the vehicle. The Internet seller creates money by charging the vehicle dealer a monthly fee and a "finder's fee" for delivering the sale. It also takes a cut of the profits that vehicle dealers make on loan contracts, extended service contracts and insurance policies in the US.



Intended seller dealers are likely to pay even less on the trade-in.

Buying clubs and vehicle brokers are quite different. They consult with consumers and help them understand the car buying process. They often give independent advice in a non-threatening environment, as to which vehicle to purchase. This is one of their most useful functions. Once the sales consultant and the consumer decide which vehicles to purchase or choose of vehicles to purchase they then go and buy the vehicle for the consumer and send the consumer to recommended dealers. Because they understand the buying process they can usually — though not always — get a better price on the vehicle than an ordinary consumer.

One of the most popular services is offered by the Automobile Protection Association (APA), which provides consumers with the dealer cost for their vehicle and can refer consumers to recommended dealers. The APA works with recommended dealers to make sure consumers are treated fairly. They help hundreds of consumers buy a new vehicle each year and usually save them money in the process.

Some independent leasing companies are also aggressively offering their services to consumers. They establish good relations with a number of vehicle dealers and direct their purchases to these favored relationships. Because they buy a number of vehicles and sometimes get access to fleet pricing they can obtain vehicles at a lower cost. They pass some of these cost savings to the consumer. However, they only offer leased vehicles, since that is their primary business. And in the long run for most consumers, leasing is the most expensive way to have access to a vehicle.

Leasing is also a very complex method of acquiring a vehicle and it's a "buyer beware" type of purchase. It is very easy for consumers to be taken advantage of when they lease a vehicle from an independent leasing company. This is highly unlikely to happen if consumers lease from a vehicle manufacturer and its dealer network, but this doesn't mean consumers have to deal directly with the car dealer. Independent leasing companies also usually offer only open-ended leases which are the most dangerous type of leases. Consumers should never agree to an open lease. With an open lease, the consumer is responsible for the residual value of the vehicle at lease-end. The residual value is what the vehicle is estimated to be worth at lease-end. With an open-ended lease, the consumer guarantees this value. With a closed-end lease, the leasing company guarantees the value and the consumer has no risk.

There is nothing wrong with buying a vehicle from an independent leasing company, but this type of alternative seller can be the most risky. Remember you are leasing and not buying the vehicle. Always ask whether the lease is open or closed. Under no circumstances should consumers agree to an open lease no matter what they are told or how persuasive an argument is presented.

Overall, alternate sellers are in the infant stage in Canada. They are not the right approach for most Canadian consumers who are very conservative with their buying habits.

Alternative sellers can save consumers some money but they are in business to make money and do charge commission and fees and sometimes these are hidden in the price of the vehicle. Consumers can also be easily fooled into signing an open lease which could cost thousands when it expires.

Overall, the vehicle-buying public can still be well served by choosing dealerships they are comfortable with and by approaching their vehicle buying transactions with the same degree of prudence and judgment they would exercise on any major purchase.

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The world's first sport utility sedan, the Subaru Outback Sedan, fits the mood this summer. This new version gives drivers the versatility and ruggedness of an All-Wheel Drive sport utility vehicle, with the room comfort and luxury of a refined sedan.

The exterior of the new Outback Sedan is as refined as its sporty, Alloy wheels with polished brass and gold accents complement Black Granite Pew, Glitter White, Whitestone Pearl, or Spruce Pearl, all combined with a two-toned Side Gray. The distinctive grid-type front grille, power moon roof,

hood scoop and rear spoiler add to this vehicle's exotic good looks.

Inside, the Outback Sedan is equipped for comfort. Air-conditioning will keep everyone cool in the summer, while a leather interior with two-seat center armrest heated, dual-mode front seats will keep passengers warm and comfortable when it's cold outside. A premium sound system featuring AM/FM/Cassette/CD with six speakers and a unique weather band radio insures happy passengers and a driver who knows what to expect on the road ahead.

As well, all the conveniences that drivers look to are included. While it is not as bad with limited outside interiors and a wheelchair accessible. In addition, the Subaru Outback Sedan has keyless entry and front door courtesy lamps that shed new light on getting in and out. Inside, storage possibilities on the back of front seats, dual illuminated vanity mirrors, and UV-reflectant glass on side and rear windows will add to both the vehicle's comfort and passenger convenience.

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# NOT ALL USED CARS ARE CREATED EQUAL

THERE IS A PERCEPTION that used cars, that were originally used as rental cars are not in as good shape as used cars originating from other uses.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," says Sandy Williamson, President of Williamson Usedrige, GM in Uxbridge, Ont. "The fact is that reputable rental car companies maintain their vehicles on a daily basis. Not only must they be able to provide a car that meets all of the safety standards, but the car must be well maintained to meet customer expectations."

"In addition, most new car dealers usually repurchase their cars within six to eight months of selling them to the rental company. At that time they undergo a thorough inspection by mechanics to make sure that the car meets all of the manufacturers' standards for warranty coverage."

Mr. Williamson, who sells both new and used cars, says there is a strong demand for used vehicles, especially for

three-, four- and five-year-old models. "We frequently experience a shortage of these particular vehicles," he says.

To be a good new car dealer, you must also be a good used car dealer and have a thorough understanding of the value of particular used vehicles — since trades-in account for a large part of our business," he adds.

"It is essential for the dealer to understand who owned or leased the car before it can be put on the used car lot. How much mileage was put on the vehicle and what is its track record? Has the car been previously damaged? Has it been reconditioned? These are all questions the dealer and the customer must know."

This need to know is strongly reiterated by Bob Pierce, Chief Executive Officer of the Toronto Automobile Dealers Association, who says "not all used cars are created equal."

"For example, people who own their own cars usually take better care of them than people who lease a vehicle for two



Robert K. (Bob) Pierce  
C.E.O. TDADA/TDADA

or three years. Similarly, automobiles which have been used as demonstrators by the dealership need to be well maintained and regularly serviced, because it is the dealers' way of displaying their product to the public."

"The need to know, in terms of the buyer, cannot be stressed enough," Mr. Pierce says. "If you have had your car regularly serviced at the dealership, just makes sense that you will get a better price for your car. The dealer has a complete history with respect to the quality of your vehicle. The dealership knows what it is buying."

"With full knowledge of the vehicle, the dealer is better able to stand behind it through various internal guarantees or goodwill allowances."

## PRIVATE SALE

"In spite of the requirement that a private sale of a used car must include some form of a safety inspection, there are no guarantees or warranties and there is no information supplied about the vehicle's history or past uses. Further, it is difficult to know whether you are actually dealing with the real owner of the car or a cardholder — a person passing as the owner of the car," Pierce cautions.

"More often than not, outsiders will purchase vehicles sold through the retail used car stores, have them superfi-

cally reconditioned to give the impression that the vehicle is of top quality and their own one-owner personal vehicle."

"Most importantly, it is difficult to get any recourse from private sellers if something goes wrong."

And something frequently does, says Mr. Williamson. "All too often, we find persons purchasing a used car through a private sale for one of their children and within two months it is in our shop to be fixed. Sometimes the repair work is more than the purchase price."

"We don't blame people for purchasing a car though a private sale. They feel they are getting a better deal. The problem is, most people do not do their homework when it comes to purchasing privately."

"If we sell a car at the auction and are aware it has been damaged, by law we report it, as we will report the fact that an automobile may have previously been used as a police car or taxi. Unfortunately, there are people, such as bushy-headed mechanics, interested in purchasing these types of vehicles, fixing them up and selling them without any disclosure."

Mr. Pierce says reputable automobile dealers follow strict criteria when it comes to reselling used cars to their customers. Depending on the age, mileage and condition of a car, most dealers are able to offer extended warranties on their vehicles as well as being able to insure better customer satisfaction.

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# Masked men and disco kings

Documentaries cover rebels, writers and DJs



Urban & Johnson

**O**ne Elena tracks down a guerrilla leader in the Mexican jungle. Another looks up at literary legend in the Moroccan desert. A third follows celebrity disc jockey in dance clubs around the world. *A Place Called Chapala, Let's Come Down*. The

*Life of Pi*, *Bruce Springsteen's Magic Bus* and *Moneyball* are three adventurous Canadian documentaries premiering at this week's Toronto International Film Festival.

A Blue Collar Church: Jim Jones and Peoples Temple on CBC's *Unsolved* (Sept. 10) is to his *Age*, though radically different in subject and style, such attempts « kind of set aside anthropologists, exploring unknown terrain with an inquisitive eye and a partisan devotion »

A FINE-CAULDED CHAMPS during Sept. 20-21 in 1945 at the lower film-making Nettec Wild's third stage to the front lines of revolution. After A Riddle of Letters (1946), which took her on for brush-

known first as members of Lillooet Nation, which now has ties into the band with Philippine guerrillas, and Blackfeet (1990), which documented the fight for native land rights in British Columbia, has new film series.

behind the scenes of the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. While 45 says it was her hardest, most harrowing shoot so far, Mexican

new members received death threats from paramilitary vigilantes. And a key character in her story, the Zapatista military leader known

Wild boar were seen in Chimpas with their cubs in 1995 in the middle of a serious conflict. It has been three years since the indigenous Zá guara uprising took over the towns and 500 ranches prompting the government to encircle the area with 30,000 troops. And the cost

*Scene from Let It Come Down - A Place Called Heaven (far left)*

scope of the 2,000 peasants who have been driven from their villages by a paramilitary group supporting the government and the landowners. And when Wid's own crew was threatened, she told Afenaché, "that's when we realized we were making a film about fire."

It unfolds in the story of a stateless, which poses a problem—much of the circus seems to be waiting in the wings, off-camera. But, as Wild points out, "you can't be sitting in a village where people's lives are on the line looking at your watch and saying 'Cause the revolution please have it. You're not a revolution scheduler."

Marco Antonio is an enigma. Unlike most of his followers, he is not a Maya peasant from Chiquito. He is a pipe-smoking intellectual who tells stories and spouts poetry, a masked figure on horseback

who appears unsmiling out of the jungle. Zepatista as Zookeeper striking poses for a French fashion magazine, and conquering his own Web site. He is in the media-savvy leader of what *The New York Times* called "the world's first postmodern revolution." But after Wild throws him a tough question at a news conference, Zapatista gives her the cold shoulder. When he finally does show up for an interview, he maintains a coy distance. "How long have you been in Chiapas?" he asks Wild. "Eight months," she says. Repiles Marquez. "We have been here 12 years. And the harshly startling to understand."

In *Let It Come Down*, Toronto director Jennifer Buchwal has created a tale of two women, the reclusive novelist Pauline (Diane Baker), whose plan

## FILMS

A figure of some substance—although in his case the sense of authority is purely cerebral. Bowles, an American novelist who has lived in Tangier for the past 30 years, is best known for *The Heat of the Sun* (1961). But he may be more famous for his life than for his work. While in his 30s, he hung out with Gertrude Stein, Truman Capote and Tennessee Williams. Later, in Maracaibo, he befriended Beat writers Allen Ginsberg and William Burroughs. And with his wife, writer Jane Bowles, he was at the hub of a decadent siren society: a nihilistic oasis of sex, drugs and poetic license in post-independence Mexico.

Bowles, who became estranged from Bowles's peers as a young man, moved to Tangier to meet her at the age of 20. They became friends and she invited him to her year home, where he is 84, and Bowles is a 67-year-old with sparkling eyes and a craggy face who sits at his robe-wearing desk surrounded by mementos of his tumultuous career. For the first time, he confirms the open secret that he is gay, while quizzing the worth of confessing it. "I would assume," he says, "that anyone in the world would be interested in being a homosexual."

The interview is a masterful, mesmerically slow-woven will-o'-the-wisps of Maracaibo—from rippling dances to honeycombed dialogues in the market—as actor T��o McCusker reads passages from the novel. With words and images evocative like other desert novels, Bowles conjures up the writing with an intimacy that recalls the way director Donald Peake remembered Mexico and Melvyn Leary in his classic 1966 documentary *Rebano*.

But the highlight is Bowles's 1986 reading with Gasper and

Burroughs in a Manhattan hotel room—the last time they were together. It's a delicious moment, a moment of three old-timers becoming reengaged mentors. "They were very frisky," recalls Bowles. "They honestly sat around and complained about shit. They passed around their friends, and talked about perspectives drawn with vivid interest."

*Bang*, the '80 film follows a younger generation of Roma, the still-style "hooligans" who rule the dance floor. The film is directed by two accomplished novices from Montreal, Marco and Mauro La Vilte—29-year-old identical twins who became heads who cooked up the idea in their uncle's pizza joint in St-Lambert Boulevard nine years ago. At the time, they had no interest in dance music or documentaries. But to pass the time through film studies at Concordia University they worked after hours in the pizza place and met the neighborhood club-crowd. "The DJs were our preferred customers," says Marco. "We heard a lot about the gossip and conflicts of the DJ world."

Scarcely a \$900,000 budget from private investors—and with no public funding—they shot in neighborhood bars, clubs and schools. What emerged is an exhilarating portrait of 10 DJs. They include Mauro's son, Jean-Vincent, who has worked on records for Madonna and David Bowie. Take a whiffed Roger Sanchez, who spent eight in four countries and San Francisco hip-hop wizard Richard "DJ Fresh" Quattro. "These guys set the new musical trends and they're here to stay," says Marco. "We tried they were still bring given respect."

Now the La Vilte brothers have won some respect for the tradesies. Breaking out of the documentary ghetto, *Bang* the DJ opens in the movie houses across Canada this week. Next, the brothers plan to make movies, the fictional kind. Martin Scorsese, watch your back. □

## Car chases, lots of aces

Sometimes at the movies, it is funnily easy to let in the dark to watch a game being played by experts even when you have no grasp of the rules. *Rouen et Rondes* are here, unassuming, unapologetic about games of bluff. One involves chessmen, the other poker. But both are about real stakes of true consequence. Masters of professionals who live and die by the rules as they play for individually high stakes. And considering that both films are flights of Hollywood fancy-talking with science with chessmen and plot—it is amazing how fantastic they can be in telling their worlds with authentic conviction, whether a car chase or a card game.

*Rouen* comes off later. It was bound to happen. Just over a year after the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, here is the first movie to feature a chase scene in the Paris tunnel where she was killed. It will put on a series of breathtaking car chases involving luxury sedans—Mercedes-Benz, BMW, Peugeot—hunting through Paris. With drivers racing through traffic, the wrong way down one-way streets, writer/director John Frankenheimer (the *Mansfield Gangster*) works some variations into familiar



De Niro in *Rouen et Rondes* as a gruff version of a caper king

shots, although it is still a mystery how high-speed chases in major cities never turn into gridlock.

In this case, the action serves as a specific backdrop, the icing on a densely layered intrigue that never fully makes sense—but that there is something wrong with it. Robert De Niro plays as a mysterious man in a covert team of international gamblers hired by an anonymous client to retrieve a well-guarded and valuable full of cash held-out. The whole thing unfolds like a grisly version of an old-fashioned caper movie, with a cast of heaves that includes Jane Fonda and Jonathan Pryce. De Niro, measuredly, perhaps a former agent now flying solo—a masterless sam-

ra, or, John Whitaker. As a mean-spirited spy who comes in from the cold, he generates considerable heat. And so does the movie.

*Rounders* This is quarter-fair, a classic piece built around poker. After Matt Damon plays another guy genius, a prudish serial poker player named Mike who gambles his way through law school. After a huge loss, he abandons art, his hobby, but when his old partner in a chess played with great ferocity by Edward Norton—gets out of jail, Mike is drawn back into the game.

Director John Dahl deals an imperfect hand. Dawson, the man with the Texas Draw problem, is a magnetic presence, but seems too checklisty for the role. As the gruff and who tries to reinforce his authority, Gretchen Mol drops in and out of the plot, getting lost in the shuffle. And pragmatist Kristen Scott Thomas with a laudable intent, John Malkovich plays the comic hero just past the point of credibility. But the underground poker world—its wily jargon and etiquette—is fascinating. And the actual game playing, even for those who cannot follow it, creates a horrific suspense. *Rouen et Rondes*, like *Rouen*, gives a good kick—a masterfully opaque into a summons that hums like the real thing.

8 EDS

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Maclean's

# Allan Fotheringham

## Of sex, separatists and sluggers on steroids

A scribbler who has been into *de cosine* for some months naturally finds his way out of the world's barrel, depressed of the fascinating fine of events that have so delighted ordinary mortals. One finds an outlet, permitting a certain manner of life. What have we missed?

Michael Ai Fornelli, on the tenth anniversary of the Paul Car Crash, repeated his claims that it was not an accident and refused from sending any message of condolence to the Royal Family. As he set up a bronze memorial to the Prince of Wales and his son back in the front window of his Harrods store, he moved a "Egyptian carpet" which掩藏 those responsible for their deaths. In his search, as owner of the Rita Hayworth Pub, for employees drunk, drawn to claudify there, he should look in the mirror.

In a book to be published this month, classical guitarist Lesley Boyd claims she carried on an eight year affair with Peter Trudeau between 1976 and 1984. Things may be about to concert cava.

President Bill Clinton for seven months denied to the American people that he had had "sexual relations" with Monica Lewinsky, his explanation being that under his understanding of the legal terms oral sex did not involve sexual relations. This recalls the celebrated statement in the British Columbia legislature by the Right Honourable Phyllis Philp Gough, who explained: "It's telling a lie, it's because I believe I'm telling the truth."

Joe Clark, who as prime minister said that though he had a minority government, he was going to govern "as if I had a majority," has returned to politics and will be the new leader of the Conservative party.

Mark McGwire surpassed the home run lists of Babe Ruth while consuming legally a muscle-building drug that is banned by the National Football League and the International Olympic Committee, but is accepted by baseball authorities. Babe Ruth set the original 60-home run mark while consuming an illegal drug, alcohol and sex, to win his mark during Prohibition.



Russia, which descended into bankruptcy and chaos after the Berlin Wall was torn down and communism collapsed, was presented to try capitalism by the West's powers and is now bankrupt and in chaos.

It is revealed that Bill Clinton indulged in the non-existent "sexual relations" in his private study off the Oval Office after attending Easter church services with wife Hillary.

Preston Manning decided to take a world tour to establish his international credentials and visited anti-Flag Kong to attack his own country and declare his currency a joke. In China, his Reform party companion, MP Bob Mills, said that trade incitement was so bad that more than 20 Canadians had died in accidents there in the past year. This is reported as uniformly as Preston's rise to becoming prime minister.

The Supreme Court of Canada, in a much-awaited decision on Quebec separation, decided that Quebec could secede if its population as depicted by "clear majorities" and declared to tell us what that might be—which left an eight track where we started. As Justice Sopinka went to say that left the situation unclear as ever.

Marcus Rabkin, at a speech to the Canadian Club in Toronto, agreed with the long-held position of that here department and said there will not be a Quebec referendum on separation since Quebec Bourassa will never call a referendum unless Québec will be willing. This is because since it is the last time Bourassa and I have ever agreed on anything.

It is reported that Bill Clinton kept PECO, the Puerto Rican utility, in the Rose Garden for 20 consecutive weeks but had "sexual relations" with Monica Lewinsky in his private study.

Bill Vander Zanden, who left Social Credit politics after it was found he had received a large down payment (plus with cash) in the middle of the night in a hotel room, from a developer from Taiwan, has become the leader of the B.C. Reform party.

It is discovered that the "war on crime" which was a fact a pharmaceutical plant that produced most of Sodalis' pharmaceuticals for human and veterinary use.

Rupert Murdoch's HarperCollins publishing house has offered Monica Lewinsky \$1 million for the story of her non sexual relations with the President and another publisher is reported to have offered \$8 million. Her mother, Marsha Lewis, however, is asking for \$25 million and would write the book. In 1996, she wrote a book called *The Private Lives of the Three Presidents*, filled with allegations of the sex lives of Florida Doggergs, Jose Carreras and Luciano Pavarotti.

It is recalled that in 1974 one of the bright young lawyers hired to serve as the staff preparing the antitrust proceedings against president Richard Nixon was a lady now known as Hillary Rodham Clinton.

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